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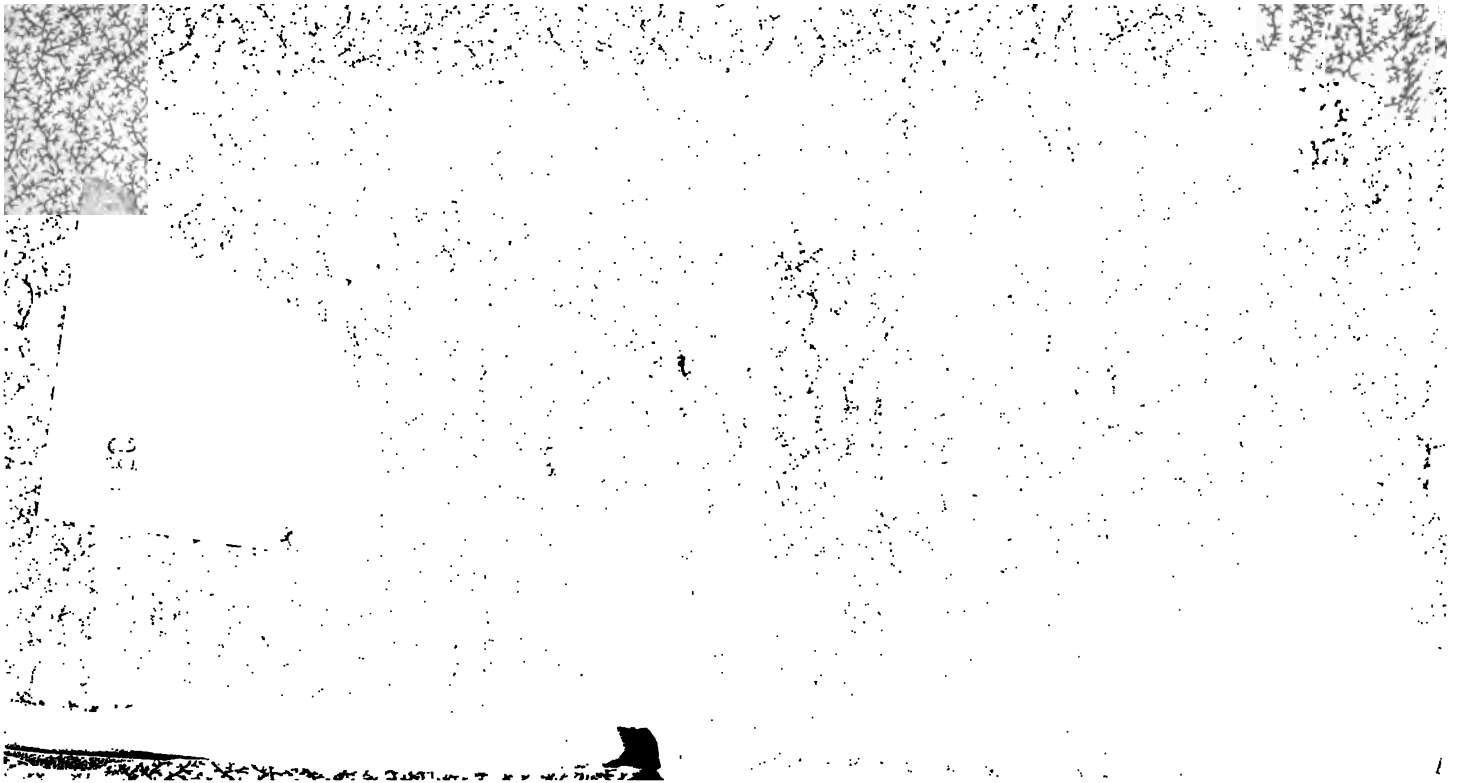

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BOOK V. CHAP. 4—6.

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MDCCCXXIX.

THE FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

W O R L D:

ENTREATING OF

THE TIMES FROM THE SETTLED RULE OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST, UNTIL THE ROMANS, PREVAILING OVER ALL, MADE CONQUEST OF ASIA AND MACEDON.

BOOK V. CONTINUED.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus, king of Macedon. His first acts and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

SECT. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the east countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many princes, with great wars, at one time. The Ætolians overrun Peloponnesus. Philip and his associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the state in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of [a] matter hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since nature is confined unto a subject that is not un-

[a] Plut. in Vita Sertorii.

bounded, the works of nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety, since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto human power, and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are overruled in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldæans invaded the kingdom of the Medes, with two hundred thousand foot and threescore thousand horse; but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the Greeks with such numbers of men as might have seemed resistless. But after that the Persians were beaten home, their empire was never secure of the Greeks, who at all times of leisure from intestine war devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great Alexander. If Nabuchodonosor with his rough old soldiers had undertaken the Medes, or Cyrus with his well trained army had made the attempt upon Greece, the issue might, in human reason, have been far different: yet would it then have been expedient for them to employ the travel and virtue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names, against those people that were no less valiant, though less renowned than their own. For the menacing words used by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greeks, (in which kind it may be that Nabuchodonosor likewise offended the Medes and Persians,) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old lion for the oppression done in his youth, being pinched by the wolf, gored by the bull, yea, and kicked by the ass. But princes are often carried away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of fame; and, despising the virtue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves, as if it were not possible that their own

glory should be foiled by any of less noted excellence. Against the same stone whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Evilmerodach, had stumbled, Pyrrhus the Epirot hath dashed his foot. He was not indeed the king of all Greece, though most of mark, and a better soldier than any other Greekish king, when he entered into war against the Romans. This war he undertook as it were for his mind's sake; having received no injury, but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greeks that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous Romans, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests of Sicily and Afric. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrrhus, had found their own virtue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the Greeks; then did all the bravery of the Epirot (his elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the Romans, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. [b] For since they had overcome the best warrior in Greece, even him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself lord of Greece and Macedon; what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike provinces, which in compass of twelve years a Macedonian king of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion, by some good means, the whole country of Greece; all the rest, this done, would follow of itself. How to deal with the Greeks, Philip and Alexander had shewed a way, which, or perhaps a better, they might learn by getting more acquaintance with the nation.

When therefore the first Punic war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines, then were the Romans at good leisure to hearken after news in Greece, and to entertain any good occasion that should be on that side presented. They had also then

[b] The king of Spain's pretended invincible navy, being beaten out of the British seas, invited us to those of Spain; and having broken the greatest fleet that ever the Spaniards gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

a strong fleet, and were become, though not otherwise very skilful mariners, yet good fighters at sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the Illyrian queen Teuta made at the same time cruel war upon the Greeks, wasting their country and sacking their towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel if the Romans were desirous to enter, the queen was not slow to give them [c] cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their patronage to be desired by the Greeks. But no such thing happened, though they sent ambassadors, as it were, to offer themselves, by signifying, that for the love of Greece they had undertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the Greeks and Romans, which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indiscretion of king Philip the Macedonian; whose business with them being now the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first actions.

It was like to prove a busy time in the world, when, within the space of four years, new kings began to reign in the most of all countries known, and three of them young boys, in three of the greatest kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty-ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Asia and Syria, in whose room succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the Great. Ptolomy Philopater succeeded in the kingdom of Egypt unto his father Euergetes. And Philip the son of Demetrius, being sixteen or seventeen years old, received the kingdom of Macedon, together with the patronage of the Achæans and most of the Greeks, by the decease of his uncle Antigonus Doson, that was called the *tutor*, or *protector*. About the same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedæmon, and the countries about mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then began his reign in Cappa-

[c] Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 7.

docia. Lycurgus found means to make himself king over the Lacedæmonians, whose commonweal, since the flight of Cleomenes, had continued in a manner headless, and Achæus, a kinsman of Antiochus, but a rebel unto him, occupied the regions near unto mount Taurus, and kept a while the state of a mighty king. Lastly, in the second and third years of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between Rome and Carthage, and that Hannibal began his great invasion upon Italy. Those troubles of the western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: of Antiochus, Ptolomy, and the rest, we shall speak hereafter, when the Romans find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into Peloponnesus, greatly desired of the Achæans, and many others his dependants. That country having freed itself by the help of Antigonus from the danger (accounted great) of an easy subjection unto Cleomenes, was now become no less obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should have been to the Spartan, and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the Ætolians, who despised even the Macedonian kings, that were patrons thereof. These Ætolians were no men to be idle, nor were much addicted to any other art than war; therefore, wanting employment, they fell upon the Messenians that were their own clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their invasion was no less unexpected than it was unjust, whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the country, finding none prepared to make resistance. The Achæans were called by the Messenians to help, which they did the more willingly, because the Ætolians, passing without leave through their territory, had (as it was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old Aratus could ill abide these Ætolians, as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries wherewith most ungratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Achæans. He was therefore so hast[redacted] this their army, that

he could hardly endure to stay a few days until the time of his own office came, being chosen pretor of the Achæans for the year following. [d] But his anger was greater than his courage, and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of an army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a great part of the country, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the Achæans, they got hereby only the friendship of the Messenians, with whom, by license of king Philip, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the Ætolians invaded Peloponnesus again, having no more to do than to pass over the narrow straits of the Corinthian bay, called now the Gulf of Lepanto, where they might land in the country of the Eleans. There joined with them in this their second invasion a great number of the Illyrians; who, neglecting that condition imposed upon them by the Romans of setting out no ships of war unto the coast of Greece, made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. [e] Demetrius Pharius, a creature of the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians, who shortly repented him of this his voyage, which caused him to lose his kingdom, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius went another way, and fell upon the islands of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea; whence returning, he did some good offices for king Philip, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians under Scerdilaidas, or Scerdiletus, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at sea, accompanied the Ætolians into Peloponnesus, who made greater havoc in the country now, than in their former expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And because men were desirous to satisfy themselves with some speedy revenge, there were

[d] Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 6. ibid. [e] Ch. 3. §. 1.

that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the Lacedæmonians, who were thought underhand to have favoured the Ætolians, in mere despite of the Achæans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true that the Lacedæmonians had been so affected, and (which was worse) at the arrival of Philip, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgment, but entreated the king, that he would abstain from coming to them with an army, since their town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain at his devotion. Philip was easily satisfied with this, not for that he (or rather old Aratus, who then wholly governed him) did misunderstand the Lacedæmonians; but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth, in presence of the king, the ambassadors of the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocians, Epirots, and Acarnanians, all complaining upon the Ætolians, and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. Philip sent his letters unto the Ætolians, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time, if they could allege any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose, whither if it pleased him to come or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The king prepared to have been there at the day. But when the Ætolians understood this for certainty, they adjourned the council unto a further time, saying, that such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great parliament of all Ætolia. This trick of law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of Scopas to be their pretor, that was author of these invasions made on Peloponnesus, and the only man in a sort upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the public.

After this, Philip went into Macedon, where he prepared busily for the war against the year following. He also assayed the Illyrian, Scerdilaidas, with fair words and promises, whom he easily won from the Ætolian side, forasmuch as the Ætolians had cozened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the Achæans, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their own country, sent unto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Lacedæmonians, requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the Ætolians, without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small nation, and bordering upon the Ætolians, of whom they stood in continual danger, said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that war, which was concluded by general assent. The Epirots, that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved, so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, until Philip (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The Messenians, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a town which the Ætolians held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the Lacedæmonians, the chief of them studied only how to manage that treason for which their city had been so lately pardoned, and therefore dismissed the ambassadors of the confederates without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wills to the Macedonians, expecting still when Cleomenes should return out of Egypt to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their city. In this regard they chose not any kings, but were contented with the rule of ephori. Of these there were some that thought the public safety to consist in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preserved them: and hereto they referred all their

counsels, being perhaps not a little moved with respect of the benefit which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising how to make all ready for Cleomenes against his return, and therefore sought to join with the Ætolians, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds; but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not, by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of Cleomenes's death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta which these intended, fancying unto themselves the glory of their ancestors in such ages past, as were not like to come again. Cleomenes was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness and lustre, which once he had in a manner performed; but since he was dead, and that without injury to his well-deserving virtue they might proceed to the election of new kings, kings they would have, and those of the race of Hercules, as in former times; for that without such helps they must continue little better than subjects unto the Macedonian, and far less by him respected than were the Achæans. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them procured the Ætolians to send an embassy to Sparta, which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the citizens durst have made himself the author. Much disputation and hot there was between those of the Macedonian party and these their opposites, in such wise that nothing could be concluded, until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the Ætolians, the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a league was concluded between the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, without all regard of the Macedonians or Achæans, who had spared the city when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand

with the election of new kings; wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient laws, as touching the choosing of the one king, that we may justly wonder how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their royal families they found Agesipolis the son of Agesipolis, the son of king Cleombrotus; and him they admitted to reign over them as heir apparent to his grandfather. This Agesipolis was a young boy, standing in need of a guardian, and had an uncle, his father's brother, that was fit for the government. Yet because the law required that the son, how young soever, should have his father's whole right and title; the Lacedæmonians, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the law, that they made this child their king, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes to be his protector. But in the other branch of the royal family, though there was no want of heirs, yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his claim, but made election of one Lycurgus, who, having no manner of title to the kingdom, bestowed upon each of the ephori a talent, and thereby made himself be saluted king of Sparta, and a gentleman of the race of Hercules. This Lycurgus, to gratify his partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the country of the Argives, which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers towns, whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the state of Lacedæmon. After such open hostility, the Lacedæmonians declared themselves on the Ætolian side; and proclaimed war against the Achæans.

Thus the beginnings of the war fell out much otherwise than the Achæans and their confederates had expected when they first made preparation. Philip was not ready; the Epirots gave uncertain answer; the Messenians would not stir; all the burden must lie upon themselves and the poor Acarnanians, whom the Ætolians, by favour of the Eleans, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the Lacedæmonians could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Ætolians, passing over

the bay of Corinth, surprised the town of Ægira; which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the Achæans; for that it stood in the midway between Ægium and Sicyon, two of their principal cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their country. But as Ægira was taken by surprise, so was it presently lost again, through greediness of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their fleet. About the same time, another Ætolian army landing among the Eleans, fell upon the western coast of Achaia, wasting all the territory of the Dymæans and other people that were first beginners of the Achæan confederacy. The Dymæans and their neighbours made head against these invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their pretor, and to all the towns of their society, in vain. For the Achæans having lately been much weakened by Cleomenes, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of Cleomenes's war, they had covetously withheld part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the Achæans, and insufficiency of their pretor, the Dymæans, with others, were driven to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the public service, and to convert the money to their own defence. Lycurgus also with his Lacedæmonians began to win upon the Arcadians, that were confederate with Philip and the Achæans.

Philip came to the borders of the Ætolians, whilst their army was thus employed afar off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots joined all their forces with him; and by such their willing readiness, drew him to the siege of a frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make them-

selves masters of Ambracia. There he spent forty days ere he could end the business, which tended only to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entered into the heart of Ætolia at his first coming, it was thought that he might have made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great armies is broken upon small towns or forts; and not seldom, that the importunity of associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our king Henry the Eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by Maximilian the emperor, to the siege of Tournay; at such time as the French king Lewis the Twelfth, hearing that the strong city of Terwin was lost, and that of his cavalry, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the earl of Essex with seven hundred English, was thinking to withdraw himself into Brittany, in fear that Henry would have come to Paris.

The stay that Philip made at Ambracus did wondrously embolden the Ætolians; in such sort, as their pretor Scopas adventured to lead all their forces out of the country; and therewith not only to overrun Thessaly, but to make impression into Macedon. He ran as far as to Dium, a city of Macedon upon the Ægean sea; which, being forsaken by the inhabitants at his coming, he took and razed to the ground. He spared neither temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all; and among the rest, he threw down the statues that were there erected of the Macedonian kings. For this he was highly honoured by his countrymen at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto Peloponnesus, but even to Macedon itself. But this their pride was soon abated, and they rewarded shortly at home in their own country for their pains taken at Dium. Philip having despatched his work at Ambracus, made a strong invasion upon Ætolia. He took Phoetiæ, Metropolis, Œniadæ, Pæanium, Elæus, and divers other towns and castles of theirs; of which he burnt some and fortified

others. He also beat the Ætolians in sundry skirmishes, and wasted all the country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the straits into Peloponnesus, and to do the like spoil in the country of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the Achæan ambassadors; news came out of Macedon, that the Dardanians were ready with a great army to fall upon the country. These Dardanians were a barbarous people, divided by mount Hæmus from the northern part of Macedon; and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence that Philip was about to make a journey into Peloponnesus, they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his country, as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the king to dismiss the Achæan ambassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his army,) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home; and as he was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there came to him Demetrius Pharius with no more than one ship, that was newly chased out of his kingdom by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himself a friend to Antigonus Doson in the wars of Cleomenes; and returning in his last voyage from the Cyclades, was ready, at their first request, to take part with Philip's captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the Macedonian king, whose counsellor he was ever after. The Dardanians hearing of the king's return, brake up their army, and gave over for the present their invasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that summer following the king rested at Larissa in Thessaly, whilst his people gathered in their harvest. But the Ætolians rested not. They avenged themselves upon the Epirots; whom for the harms by them and Philip done in Ætolia, they requited with all extremities of war, among which, the most notable was the ruin of the famous temple of

war until another year was laid aside, Philip stole a journey into Peloponnesus with five thousand foot and about four hundred horse. As soon as he was within Corinth, he commanded the gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old Aratus to come thither unto him; with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the Achæan soldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the country, with somewhat more than two thousand foot and an hundred horse, little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear, since the Achæans themselves were not aware that the king was in their land with his Macedonians, until they heard that these two thousand Eleans, Ætolians, and their fellows, were by him surprised, and all made prisoners or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, Philip got very much reputation; as likewise he purchased both reputation and love by divers actions immediately following. He won Psophis, an exceeding strong town in the borders of Arcadia, which the Eleans and Ætolians then held. He won it by assault at his first coming; wherein it much availed him, that the enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unseasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The town was preserved by the king from sack, and given to the Achæans, of his own mere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to Lasion, which yielded for very fear, hearing how easily he had taken Psophis. This town also he gave to the Achæans. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the country of Elis, where was much wealth to be gotten; for that the people were addicted to husbandry, and lived abroad in villages, even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the city of Olympia, where having done sacrifice to Jupiter, feasted his captains, and refreshed his army three days, he proceeded on to the spoil of those that had taken pleasure to share with the

Ætolians in the spoils of their otherwise deserving neighbours. Great abundance of cattle he took, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the towns whereinto a great multitude of the country people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by sending ambassadors to yield before he came. And some that were held with garrisons against their wills, took courage to set themselves at liberty by seeing the king so near, to whose patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the Ætolian captains, because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the king won more towns in the country, than the sharpness of winter would suffer him to stay there days. Fain he would have fought with the Ætolians; but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, until they had covered themselves within the town of Samicum, where they thought to have been safe. But Philip assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place, obtaining license to depart with their lives and arms. Having performed so much in this expedition, the king reposed himself a while in Megalopolis, and then removed to Argos, where he spent all the rest of the winter.

Before the king's arrival in Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, with Lycurgus their new king, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia, and threatened to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the Eleans, of the danger hanging over their own heads, they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This Lycurgus, as he had no other right to the kingdom of Sparta than that which he could buy with money, so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him, nor from those jealousies with which usurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one Chilon, of the royal blood, that thinking [redacted] kingdom, purposed [redacted] his opposites, a[redacted]

pounding unto the multitude such reformation of the state as was most popular; namely, by making an equal distribution of all the lands among the whole number of the citizens, according to the ancient institution of that commonwealth. He won to his party some two hundred men, with whom he fell upon the ephori as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to Lycurgus's house, who perceiving the danger, stole away, and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predisposed, they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. Chilon perceived whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwards among the Achæans a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for Lycurgus, he returned home; and suspecting thenceforth all those of Hercules's race, found means to drive out his fellow king, young Agesipolis, whereby he made himself lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should have been apprehended by the ephori: but though his actions hitherto might have been defended, yet rather than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to fly for a time, and sojourn among his friends the Ætolians. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the Macedonians had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own surmises against him, and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself; not by amending his condition, (for he grew a tyrant, and was so acknowledged,) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the citizens to expel him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a tyrant, or at what time it was that he chased Agesipolis out of the city, I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, that his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of [illegible]

rants, which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was towards some private citizens, in the war against Philip he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his country's good.

SECT. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill counsellors; who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were justly punished. He invadeth the Ætolians a second time, and forceth them to sue for peace, which is granted unto them.

WHILST the king lay at Argos, devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him studied so diligently their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. Antigonus Doson had left unto Philip such counsellors as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was Apelles, that had the charge of his person and ordering of his treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his prince, if he could reduce the Achæans unto the same degree of subjection wherein the Macedonians lived. To bring this to pass, during the late expedition he had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Achæans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, he was bold to chastise some of that nation, causing his ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows, them he laid by the heels, and punished as mutineers. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience, and think nothing unjust that pleased the king. But these Achæans were tenderly sensible in matter of liberty, whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the Macedonians to help them in the war against Cleomenes. They bemoaned themselves unto old

Aratus, and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. Aratus forthwith dealt earnestly with the king, as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The king bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade Apelles to follow the course begun. Hereat Apelles was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own project, that he could not endure to lay it aside, being perhaps unable to do the king any valuable service in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head, since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be, than that among the Achæans there were some who bore no hearty affection to Aratus. These he inquired out, and, sending for them, entertained them with words of court, promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the king. Then brake he his purpose with the king himself, letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of Aratus, he must be fain to deal precisely with the Achæans, and, as it were by indenture, according to the letter of the contract; whereas if he would be pleased to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the Achæans, and all other Peloponnesians, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the king to be present at Ægium, where the Achæans were to hold election of a new pretor. There, with much more labour than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the king, by fair words and threatenings together, obtained so much, that Eperatus, a very insufficient man, but one of Apelles's new favourites, was chosen pretor, instead of one more worthy, for whom Aratus had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The king from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very strong castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos: the garrison yielded it up for

fear at his first coming, whereof he was glad; for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the Dymæans, as he presently did.

The king thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their country the last winter, he had let loose one Amphidamus, a captain of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the Ætolians, and join with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed Amphidamus to let them understand, that he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; that he would defend them from all foreign invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own laws, without paying any manner of tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when Philip came to the castle of Tichos, and made a new invasion upon their country, then began the Eleans (that were not before over hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect Amphidamus as a traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the Ætolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into Ætolia: but he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma; in good time for himself, in better for Aratus. For the king (as was said) marvelling what should be the cause that he heard no news from the Eleans concerning the offers which he had made unto them by Amphidamus; Apelles, his counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant Aratus. He said, that old Aratus, and his son together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the king's good; and long of them he said it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out: for when Amphidamus was dismissed home, the two Aratî (the father and the son) had taken him aside, and given him to understand, that it would be very pre[illegible] Peloponnesus, if the Eleans o[illegible]

Macedonian; and this was the true cause why neither Amphidamus was very careful in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkening to the king's offers. All this was a false lie, devised by Apelles himself upon no other ground than his own malice. Philip had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two Arati, and bade Apelles rehearse it over again to their faces. Apelles did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either Philip or they spake any word, he added this clause, as it were in the king's name: "Since the king hath found "you such ungrateful wretches, it is his meaning to hold a "parliament of the Achæans; and therein having made it "known what ye are, to depart into Macedon, and leave "you to yourselves." Old Aratus gravely admonished the king, that whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own, or a man of worth, he should forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the business: for such deliberation was kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present, he said, there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with Amphidamus; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to Apelles. For it would be a very absurd thing, that the king should make himself author of a report in the open parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other evidence than one man's *yea* and another's *no*. Hereof the king liked well, and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few days; wherein whilst Apelles delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what had befallen him there. The king was not forgetful to examine him about the conspiracy of the Arati; which when he found no better than a mere device against his honourable friends, he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to Apelles, though it was hereby somewhat cooled, yet, by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unrestful temper of Apelles having with much vehe-

mency brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly ambition useth) to swell and grow venomous, for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again; and as before, being checked in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the Arati, so, failing of them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the king himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime the spider thought to have taken the swallow which drave away flies out of the chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the air by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workmanship of a cobweb. Of the four that next unto Apelles were left by Antigonus in chief place about Philip, Taurion, his lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and Alexander, captain of the guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, Leontius, captain of the targetiers, and Megaleas, chief of the secretaries, were easily won to be at Apelles's disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some creatures of his own into their rooms. Against Alexander he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction: but for the supplanting of Taurion he used more finesse; loading him with daily commendations as a notable man of war, and one whom for his many virtues the king might ill spare from being always in his presence. By such art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *out of God's blessing into a warm sun.* In the mean season Aratus retired himself, and sought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the king, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of state. As for the new pretor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the king, he was a man of no despatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst Philip wanted both the money and the corn wherewith he should have been furnished by the Achæans. This made the king understand his own error; which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He persuaded the Achæans to rejourn their parliament from Ægium to Sicyon, the town of Aratus. There he dealt

with the old man and his son; persuading them to forget what was past, and laying all the blame upon Apelles, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travail of these worthy men he easily obtained what he would of the Achæans. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand, with great store of corn; and further decreed, that so long as he himself in person followed the wars in Peloponnesus, he should receive ten talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the Ætolians, Eleans, and Lacedæmonians, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by sea.

It vexed Apelles beyond measure to see things go forward so well without his help, even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiracy with Leontius and Megaleas; binding himself and them by oath, to cross and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the king should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that very want of ability to do any thing without them should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their directions. The king, it is like, had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wise men persuaded themselves, that, by looking big upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child still. Apelles would needs go to Chalcis, there to take order for the provisions which were to come that way out of Macedon; the other two stayed behind with the king, to play their parts, all more mindful of their wicked oath than of their duty.

His fleet and army being in a readiness, Philip made countenance as if he would have bent all his forces against the Eleans; to whose aid therefore the Ætolians sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the Eleans, and those that came to help them, Philip thought it enough to leave the Achæans, with some part of his and their means.

naries. He himself, with the body of his army, putting to sea, landed in the isle of Cephallenia; whence the Ætolians, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the town of Palæa, that had been very serviceable to the enemy against him and his confederates; and might be very useful to him, if he could get it. Whilst he lay before this town, there came unto him fifteen ships of war from Scerdilaidas; and many good soldiers from the Epirots, Acarnanians, and Messenians: but the town was obstinate, and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side Philip carried a mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. Leontius, captain of the targetiers, was appointed by the king to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with Apelles, did both wilfully forbear to do his best, and caused others to do the like. So the Macedonians were put to foil, and many slain; not of the worst soldiers, but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the town, if the treason of their captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The king was angry with this; but there was no remedy; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege: for it was easier unto the townsmen to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed, and uncertain what course to take, the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own country. The Messenians alleged, that Lycurgus was busy in wasting their country, upon whom the king might come unawares in one day; the Etesian winds, which then blew, serving fitly for his navigation. Hereto also Leontius persuaded; who considered that those winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce, (blowing all the dog-days,) and make him spend the summer to small purpose: but Aratus gave better counsel, and prevailed. He shewed how unfitting it were to let the Ætolians overrun all Thessaly again, and some part of Macedon, whilst the king with-

drew his army far off, to seek small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now served well to carry the war into Ætolia; since the pretor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for Lycurgus, he was not strong enough to do much harm in Peloponnesus; and it might suffice, if the Achæans were appointed to make head against him. According to this advice, the king sets sail for Ætolia; and enters the bay of Ambracia, which divided the Ætolians from Acarnania. The Acarnanians were glad to see him on their borders, and joined with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland country, and taking some places by the way, which he filled with garrisons to assure his retreat, he passed on to Thermum, which was the receptacle of the Ætolians, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The country round about was a great fastness, environed with rocky mountains of very narrow, steep, and difficult ascent. There did the Ætolians use to hold all their chief meetings, their fairs, their election of magistrates, and their solemn games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength had made them careless in looking unto it. When Philip therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil; whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompensed. So he loaded his army; and, consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly temple, the chief of all belonging unto the Ætolians, in remembrance of the like their courtesy shewed upon the temples of Dium and Dodona. This burning of the temple might, questionless, more for the king's honour have been forborne. But perhaps he thought, as monsieur du Gourges, the French captain, told the Spaniards in Florida, "that they which had no faith needed no "church." At his return from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him; which that they would do he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thou-

sand of them there were, that, lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts; but he had laid a counter-ambush for them of his Illyrians, who, staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the Ætolians, whilst they were busily charging in rear the army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy he returned the same way that he came; and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the country round about him, he safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the Ætolians made countenance of fight, issuing out of Stratus in great bravery: but they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident, it pleased the king to make a great feast unto all his friends and captains. Thither were invited among the rest Leontius, with his fellow Megaleas. They came because they could not choose, but their heavy looks argued what little pleasure they took in the king's prosperity. It grieved them to think that they should be able to give no better account unto Apelles of their hindering the king's business; since Apelles himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. The sorrow and indignation which they could ill dissemble in their faces brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drink, into open riot. Finding Aratus on the way home to his tent, they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uproar; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The king, sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed; which made him send for Leontius and his fellows. But Leontius was gotten out of the way; Megaleas, and another with him, came. The king began to rate them for their disorder, and they to give him froward answers; insomuch as they said at length, that they would never give over, till they had rewarded Aratus with a mischief as he deserved: hereupon the king committed them to ward.

out of itself, to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto Apelles, the head and architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repair to Corinth, where he might stand between them and the king's displeasure. Apelles had not all this while been wanting to the business undertaken by him and his treacherous companions: he had taken upon him, as a man that had the king's heart in his own hand; and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the king's officers in Macedon and Thessaly addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their despatch in every business. Likewise the Greeks, in all their flattering decrees, took occasion to magnify the virtue of Apelles, making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the king; who seemed no better than the minister and executioner of Apelles's will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people; but in managing the king's affairs he made it his especial care, that money, and all things needful for the public service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the king, for very need, to sell his own plate and household vessels; thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties by only saying, "Sir, be "ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish:" hereto if the king would give assent, then had this politician obtained his heart's desire. Now taking his journey from Chalcis, in the isle of Eubœa, to the city of Corinth, where Philip then lay, he was fetched in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the captains and soldiers, which Leontius and Megaleas drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the city with a goodly train, he went directly to the court, and towards the king's chamber. But Philip was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falsehood; wherefore one was sent to tell him that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the king was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that, going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him, save his own pages. After this, the king vouchsafed him [illegible]

and then some slender graces; but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught Megaleas to look unto himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the king sent forth Taurion, his lieutenant of Peloponnesus, with all the targetiers, as it were to do some piece of service; but indeed of purpose to apprehend Leontius in the absence of his followers. Leontius being taken, despatched away a messenger presently to his targetiers, to signify what was befallen him; and they forthwith sent unto the king in his behalf. They made request, that if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return; as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were all the matter, they said that they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the soldiers made Philip more hasty, than else he would have been, to take away the traitor's life. Neither was it long, ere letters of Megaleas were intercepted, which he wrote unto the Ætolians; vilifying the king with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that Philip was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the king understood more perfectly the falsehood, not only of Megaleas, but of Apelles; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor: wherefore he sent one to pursue Megaleas, that was fled to Thebes. As for Apelles, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. Megaleas also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The Ætolians, as they had begun this war upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the nonage of Philip, so finding that the vigour of this young prince, tempered with the cold advice of Aratus, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow, they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and

Magaleus, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the king's targetiers, they began to hope anew that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing sorry: for being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet nation, he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the war should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian soldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own country. In his return homeward, he called into judgment one Ptolomy, a companion with Apelles and Leontius in their treasons; who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians, and suffered death. These were the same Macedonians that lately could not endure to hear of Leontius's imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die, that was but his adherent: so vain is the confidence, on which rebels use to build, in their favour with the multitude!

During his abode in Macedon, Philip won some bordering towns; from which the Dardanians, Ætolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make roads into his kingdom. When he had thus provided for safety of his own, the Ætolians might well know what they were to expect. But there came again ambassadors from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolomy king of Egypt, and from the city of Byzantium, recontinuing the former solicitation about the peace. This fashion had been taken up, in matters of Greece, ever since the kings that reigned after Alexander had taken upon them to set the whole country at liberty. No sooner was any province or city in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found intercessors, who, pitying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the princes and states abroad sought to

bind unto them those people that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good soldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward sort, especially the Ætolians, whose whole nation was addicted to falsehood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighhours; being well assured, that if they had the worst, the love of Greece would be sufficient to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late treaty of peace, done what harm they could in Peloponnesus; but being beaten by the Achæans, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the war as soon as they might. Philip made such answer to the ambassadors as he had done the former year; that he gave not occasion to the beginning of this war, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it; but that the Ætolians, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the peace, being a young prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the war. But it happened, in the midst of this negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Macedon what a notable victory Hannibal had obtained against the Romans in the battle at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated unto Demetrius Pharius, who greatly encouraged him to take part with Hannibal; and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian war. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto peace with the Ætolians; which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did Agelæus, an Ætolian, make a great oration; telling how happy it was for the Greeks, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing war between themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans or the Carthaginians had subdued one the other, it was not to be doubted that they would forthwith look eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said

it were good that their country should be at peace within itself; and that Philip, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in Italy. Such advice could the Ætolians then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatening them at hand; but being soon after weary of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the Romans into Greece; whereby they brought themselves and the whole country (but themselves before any other part of the country) under servitude of strangers. The condition of this peace was simple; that every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

SECT. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into league with Hannibal against the Romans. The tenor of the league between Hannibal and Philip.

THIS being agreed upon, the Greeks betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and Philip to prepare for the business of Italy, about which he consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away till the great battle of Cannæ; after which he joined in league with Hannibal, as hath been shewed before. Demetrius Pharius bore great malice unto the Romans; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost kingdom, than by procuring the Macedonian, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for Philip to have supported the weaker of these two great cities against the more mighty. For by so doing he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did Hiero, a far weaker prince, have both secured his own estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed will appear soon after this. His

first quarrel with the Romans, the trouble which they and the Ætolians did put him to in Greece, and the peace which they made with him for a time, upon conditions that might easily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punic war. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the league between him and Carthage; which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form itself then used; though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busy piece.

The oath and covenants between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, ambassador of Philip, king of Macedon.

" THIS is the league, ratified by oath, which Hannibal " the general, and with him Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, " as also the senators of Carthage that are present, and all " the Carthaginians that are in his army, have made with " Xenophanes the son of Cleomachus, Athenian, whom " king Philip the son of Demetrius hath sent unto us, for " himself and the Macedonians, and his associates; before " Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo; before [c] the god of the " Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolaus; before Mars, Triton, " Neptune; before the gods accompanying arms, the sun, " the moon, and the earth; before rivers, and meadows, and " waters; before all the gods that have power over Car- " thage; before all the gods that rule over Macedon, and " the rest of Greece; before all the gods that are presidents " of war, and present at the making of this league. Han- " nibal the general hath said, and all the senators that are " with him, and all the Carthaginians in his army, Be it " agreed between you and us, that this oath stand for " friendship and loving affection, that we become friends, " familiar, and brethren, upon covenant, that the safety of " the lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the general, " and those that are with him, and of the rulers of pro- " vinces of the Carthaginians using the same laws, and of

[c] Dæmon.

" the Uticans, and as many cities and nations as obey the
" Carthaginians, and of the soldiers and associates, and of all
" towns and nations with which we hold friendship in Italy,
" Gaul, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friend-
" ship or make alliance hereafter in this region, be pre-
" served by king Philip and the Macedonians, and such of
" the Greeks as are their associates. In like manner shall
" king Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks
" his associates, be saved and preserved by the Carthaginian
" armies, and by the Uticans, and by all cities and nations
" that obey the Carthaginians, and by their associates and
" soldiers, and by all nations and cities in Italy, Gaul, and
" Liguria, that are of our alliance, or shall hereafter join
" with us in Italy. We shall not take counsel one against
" the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With
" all readiness and good-will, without deceit or subtilty, we
" shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians,
" excepting those kings, towns, and havens with which we
" have already league and friendship. We also shall be
" enemies to the enemies of king Philip, excepting those
" kings, cities, and nations with which we have already
" league and friendship. The war that we have with the
" Romans, have ye also with them, until the gods shall give
" us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid us with those
" things whereof we have need, and shall do according to
" the covenants between us. But if the gods shall not give
" unto you and us their help in this war against the Romans
" and their associates, then, if the Romans offer friendship,
" we shall make friendship in such wise that ye shall be
" partakers of the same friendship, with condition, that
" they shall not have power to make war upon you; neither
" shall the Romans be lords over the Corcyræans, nor over
" those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus,
" nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall
" also render unto Demetrius Pharius all those that belong
" unto him, as many as are within the Romans' dominions.
" But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make
" war upon ye or us, we will succour one another in that

" war, as either shall have need. The same shall be ob-
" served in war made by any other, excepting those kings,
" cities, and states with whom we hold already league and
" friendship. To this league, if we or ye shall think fit to
" add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made
" by our common consent."

SECT. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural vices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free states his associates, with the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punic war. He poisoneth Aratus, and grows hateful to the Achæans.

HITHERTO Philip had carried himself as a virtuous prince: and though with more commendation of his wisdom he might have offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand; yet this his meddling in the Punic war proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithal reputation to his country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by Demetrius Pharius, who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires, and thereby shortly governed him, even as he listed. For the virtues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical, desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise listing to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair show he might breed in men such a good opinion of him as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busy himself in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policy to bring the Greeks that were his associates under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto Apelles had advised him before, and he had liked reasonably well of the course: but Apelles was a boisterous counsellor, and one that, referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the king's op-

portunity at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the king's humours, and guided, like a coachman, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit, so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus, which the violence of Apelles could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot faction among the Messenians, between the nobility and commons; their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a foreign war) unto domestical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this, resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their government, for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found Aratus busy among them, to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man, but talked in private with such of the Messenians as repaired unto him. He asked the governors what they meant, to stand thus disputing, and whether they had not laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly rabble? Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular faction, he said it was strange, that they, being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few, as if they had not hands to defend themselves from tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the king's assistance, they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The governors therefore would have apprehended some seditious orators that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion the people took arms, and running upon the nobility and magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seems, that it would be easy to worry the sheep when the dogs their guardians were slain: but his falsehood and double-dealing was immedi-

ately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to tell him of it in public, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The king was angry at this: but having already done more than was commendable or excusable, and yet further intending to take other things in hand, wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends, he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old Aratus aside by the hand, and went up into the castle of Ithome, that was over Messene. There he pretended to do sacrifice, and sacrifice he did: but it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use, for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the citadel of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that country. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner, he shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him whether the tokens that he saw therein did signify, that being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself? He thought, perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little, were it only for desire to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as Aratus stood doubtful what to answer, Demetrius Pharius gave this verdict: "If "thou be a soothsayer, thou mayest go thy ways, and let "slip this good advantage; if thou be a king, thou must "not neglect the opportunity, but hold the ox by both his "horns." Thus he spake, resembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus unto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needs hear the opinion of Aratus, who told him plainly, that it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the Messenians; but if, by seizing upon Ithome, he must lose all the other castles that he held, and especially the strongest castle of all that was left unto him by Antigonus, which was his credit, then were it far better to depart with his soldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own

wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice Philip yielded at the present, but not without some dislike thenceforth growing between him and the Arati, whom he thought more froward than beseemed them in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all to deal any longer in the king's affairs, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes, so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house he had been dishonest with his son's wife. He therefore stayed at home, where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of Cleomenes, his own countryman, and a temperate prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what Aratus had lately told him, that unhonest counsels are not so profitable in deed as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants, and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not; wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he seized upon their town of Oricum, and laid siege to Apollonia, having no good colour of these doings, but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus, instead of settling the country, as his intended voyage into Italy required, he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italy, M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts, who not only maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the [f] Ætolians to break the peace which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that war, the occurrents whereof we have related before, in place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though Philip did the offices of a good captain,

[f] Chap. 3. §. 12.

yet, when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious king. He had not quite left his former desire of oppressing the liberty of the Messenians, but made another journey into their country, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before, and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force, and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open war. But in that war he could do little good, perhaps because none of his confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon Messene he lost Demetrius Pharius, that was his counsellor and flatterer, not his perverter, as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the ministry of Taurion, his lieutenant, be poisoned old Aratus; and shortly after that, he poisoned also the younger Aratus, hoping that these things would never have been known, because they were done secretly, and the poisons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed unto Aratus more than human honours, as sacrifices, hymns, and processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a priest ordained unto him for that purpose, as was accustomed unto the heroes, or men whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of Apollo, which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of idolatry.

The loving memory of Aratus, their patron and singular benefactor, could not but work in the Achæans a marvellous dislike of that wicked king which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present the murder was not generally known or believed, neither were they in case to subsist without his help that had committed it. The Ætolians were a most outrageous people,

great darers, and shameless robbers. With these the Romans had made a league, whereof the conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point concerning the division of the purchase which they should make; namely, that the Ætolians should have the country and towns, but the Romans the spoil, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The Achæans, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make strait alliance with the Ætolians, as knowing their uncivil disposition, were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for such did the Greeks account all other nations except their own) to make havoc of the country. The same consideration moved also the Lacedæmonians to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the Ætolians, whose friendship they had embraced in the late war. The industry therefore of Philip, and the great care which he seemed to take of the Achæans his confederates, sufficed to retain them, especially at such time as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the Dymæans, by an inestimable benefit, recovering their town after it had been taken by the Romans and Ætolians, and redeeming their people, wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past, if the malignity of his natural condition had not other whiles broken out, and given men to understand that it was the time, and not his virtue which caused him to make such a show of goodness. Among other foul acts whereof he was not ashamed, he took Polycratia, the wife of the younger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon, little regarding how this might serve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old man's death. But of such faults he shall be told when the Romans make war upon him the second time; for of that which happened in this their first invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

SECT. V.

Of Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, and Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battle between them, wherein Machanidas is slain.

IT happens often that the decease of one eminent man discovers the virtue of another. In the place of Aratus there stood up Philopœmen, whose notable valour and great skill in arms made the nation of the Achæans redoubtable among all the Greeks, and careless of such protection as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that Philopœmen, who being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to Antigonus at the battle of Sellasia against Cleomenes. Thenceforward until now he had spent the most part of his time in the isle of Crete, the inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves, he bettered among them his knowledge and practice in the art of war. At his return home he had charge of the horse, wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the cities of the confederacy to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the Achæans very strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen pretor, or general of the nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his country might be strong enough to defend itself, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He persuaded the Achæans to cut off their vain expense of bravery in apparel, householdstuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their arms, wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better soldiers, and suitable in behaviour unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light bucklers, and slender darts, to cast afar off, that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hasty expeditions, whereto Aratus had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy strokes they were

good for nothing, so as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their mercenaries. Philopœmen altered this, causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their embattling, not making the files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight months were spent of that year in which he first was pretor of the Achæans, when Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon caused him to make trial how his soldiers had profited by his discipline. This Machanidas was the successor unto Lycurgus, a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a strong army of mercenaries; and he kept them not only to fight for Sparta, but to hold the city in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the Achæans, that were favourers of liberty, but to strengthen himself by friendship of the Ætolians, who, in making alliances, took no further notice of vice or virtue than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of Lacedæmon, through their inveterate hatred unto the Argives, Achæans, and Macedonians, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Ætolian faction. Very unwisely: for in seeking to take revenge upon those that had lately hindered them from getting the lordship of Peloponnesus, they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the mastery of their own city. This affection of the Spartans, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not Machanidas to be idle, but made him always ready to fall upon his neighbours' backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced by greater necessity to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of Philip, whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men than were the Achæans, and thought his own men better soldiers than were theirs.

Whilst Philip therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the country of the Mantinæans, being not without hope to do as Cleomenes had done before him, yea and perhaps to get the [g] lordship of Peloponnesus, as having stronger friends and weaker opposition than Cleomenes had found. But Philopœmen was ready to entertain him at Mantinæa, where was fought between them a great battle. The tyrant had brought into the field upon carts a great many of engines wherewith to beat upon the squadrons of his enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, Philopœmen sent forth his light armature a good way before him, so as Machanidas was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply, till at length all the mercenaries, both of the Achæans and of Machanidas, were drawn up to the fight; being so far advanced, each before their own phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoiled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were Machanidas's engines made unserviceable by the interposition of his own men, in such manner as the cannon is hindered from doing execution in most of the battles fought in these our times. The mercenaries of the tyrant prevailed at length, not only by their advantage of number, but (as [h] Polybius well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage, wherein usually the hired soldiers of tyrants exceed those that are waged by free states. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude, so the mercenaries of a tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own, whereas they that serve under a free state have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free state hath gotten the victory, many companies

[g] Excerpt. e Polyb. l. 11. Plut. in vitæ Philopœm.

[h] Polyb. ibid.

(if not all) of foreign auxiliaries are presently cast, and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a tyrant makes him stand in need of more such helpers, because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects, and therefore stands in fear of more that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Achæans being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of Machanidas, that shortly they betook themselves to flight, and could not be stayed by any persuasions of Philopœmen, but ran away quite beyond the battle of the Achæans. This disaster had been sufficient to take from Philopœmen the honour of the day, had he not wisely observed the demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The tyrant with his mercenaries gave chase unto those that fled, leaving behind him in good order of battle his Lacedæmonians, whom he thought sufficient to deal with the Achæans, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, Philopœmen advanced towards the Lacedæmonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the country a long ditch, without water at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for foot. The Lacedæmonians adventured over it, as thinking themselves better soldiers than the Achæans, who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own battle, and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the Achæans, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink; so as Philopœmen, getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the field. Philopœmen knew better how to use his advantage than Machanidas had done. He suffered not all his army to disband, and follow the chase, but retained with him a sufficient strength for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come back. The

tyrant with his mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lusty troop of horse about him, he made towards the bridge, hoping to find the Achæans in disorder, and to set upon their backs as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when he and his company saw Philopœmen ready to make good the bridge against them, then began every one to look which way he might shift for himself. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side, and searched for an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple cassock, and the costly trappings of his horse. Philopœmen therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the ditch itself, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this battle on the Lacedæmonians' side about four thousand, and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the Achæan mercenaries, probable it is that the loss was not greatly cared for, since that war was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

SECT. VI.

Philip, having peace with Rome and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their lineages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the Achæans learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferior to any that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the Macedonian, he made no great use of them; but when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Ætolians, he studied how to enlarge his dominion eastward, since the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the west. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest; wherein if the Achæans would have done him service, they must, by helping

him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated Attalus king of Pergamus, who had joined with the Romans and Ætolians in war against him.

This Attalus, though a king, was scarce yet a nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own and by his father's virtue. His fortune began in Philetærus his uncle, who being gelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed; as great men in those times reposed much confidence in eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of Docimus, a captain following Antigonus the First; and after the death of Antigonus, he accompanied his master, that betook himself to Lysimachus king of Thrace. Lysimachus had good opinion of him, and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this king, that grew a bloody tyrant, he fled into Asia, where he seized upon the town of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto Seleucus the First, that then was ready to give Lysimachus battle. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that Seleucus having slain Lysimachus, died shortly after himself, before he made use of Philetærus or his money. So this eunuch still retained Pergamus, with the country about it, and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute king. He had two brethren; of which the elder is said to have been a poor carter, and the younger perhaps was not much better, before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this eunuch. Philetærus left his kingdom to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called Eumenes. This Eumenes enlarged his kingdom, making his advantage of the dissension between Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the sons of the second Antiochus. He fought a battle with Hierax, near unto Sardis, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gauls that served under his enemy, he used a pretty de-

vice. He wrote the word [1] *victory* upon the hand of his soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off; and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed had cleanly taken the print of the letters, he published this unto his army as a miracle, plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that battle.

After this victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to Seleucus, who never durst attempt to recover from him, by war, the territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of overmuch drink, and left his kingdom to Attalus, of whom we now entreat, that was son unto Attalus the youngest brother of Philetærus. Attalus was an undertaking prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper forces he restored his friend Ariarathes the Cappadocian into his kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by Achæus, who, setting up himself as king against Antiochus the Great, reigned in the Lesser Asia. He was besieged in his own city of Pergamus; but by help of the Tectosagæ, a nation of the Gauls, whom he called over out of Thrace, he recovered all that he had lost. When these Gauls had once gotten footing in Asia, they never wanted employment; but were either entertained by some of the princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves without invitation, and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused Prusias king of Bithynia to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended, they nevertheless within a while after invaded his kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory, and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the region about Hellespont, where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding unto Attalus. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their neighbour princes and cities to pay them tribute, in the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto Attalus than to any that had worse

[1] Jul. Front. Strat. lib. 1. c. 11.

deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that province, which took name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours, and to fill up the armies of those that could best hire them.

The kings reigning in those parts were the posterity of such as had saved themselves and their provinces in the slothful reign of the Persians, or in the busy times of Alexander and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient; for the first of their line had married with Atossa, sister unto the great king Cyrus. Their country was taken from them by Perdiccas, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom Perdiccas crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civil wars among themselves, recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his offspring. The kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian empire, and are said to have issued from the royal house of Achæmenes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves from Pylæmenes, a king that assisted Priamus at the war of Troy. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The ancestors of Prusias had begun to reign in Bithynia some few generations before that of the Great Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonian's way; by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. Calantus, one of Alexander's captains, made an expedition into their country, where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a lieutenant of Antigonus, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of Prusias, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

SECT. VII.

The town of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias king of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks, and is warred upon by Attalus king of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

PRUSIAS, as a neighbour king, had many quarrels with Attalus, whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself, by taking to wife the daughter of Philip; as Attalus, on the contrary side, entered into a strict confederacy with the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greeks. But when Philip had ended his Ætolian war, and was devising with Antiochus about sharing between them two the kingdom of Egypt, wherein Ptolomy Philopater, a friend unto them both, was newly dead, and had left his son Ptol. Epiphanes, a young child, his heir, the Bithynian entreated this his father-in-law to come over into Asia, there to win the town of the Ciani, and bestow it upon him. Prusias had no right unto the town, nor just matter of quarrel against it; but it was fitly seated for him, and therewithal rich. Philip came, as one that could not well deny to help his son-in-law; but hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Ambassadors came to him, whilst he lay at the siege, from the Rhodians, and divers other states, entreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers, making show as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing less. At length he got the town, where, even in presence of the ambassadors, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his neighbours as a perfidious and cruel prince. Especially his fact was detested of the Rhodians, who had made vehement intercession for the poor Ciani; and were advertised by ambassadors of purpose sent unto them from Philip, that, howsoever it were in his power to win the town as soon as he listed, yet, in regard of his love to the Rhodians, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency the

ambassadors said, that he would manifest unto the world what slanderous tongues they were which noised abroad such reports as went of his falsehood and oppressions. Whilst the ambassadors were declaiming at Rhodes in the theatre to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had happened; shewing that Philip had sacked and destroyed the town of Cios, and, after a cruel slaughter of the inhabitants, had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians took this in great despite, no less were the Ætolians inflamed against him; since they had sent a captain to take charge of the town, being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia and Chalcedon, (which he had withdrawn from their confederacy to his own,) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was Attalus moved with consideration of the Macedonian's violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose, and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong party in Greece. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of Alexander's captains, in purchasing with much liberality the love of the Athenians, which were notable trumpeters of other men's virtue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the Ætolians he had cause to presume, having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war with Philip. The Rhodians, that were mighty at sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other princes and states, he easily drew into a strait alliance with him by their hatred newly conceived against Philip.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the ready assistance of the Rhodians, Attalus prepared to deal with the Macedonian by open war. It had been unseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended, since his desire to fasten upon Asia was manifest, and his falsehood no less manifest than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from Chios, and fought with him a battle at sea; wherein, though Attalus was driven to run his own ship on ground, hardly

escaping to land, though the admiral of the Rhodians took his death's wound, and though Philip after the battle took harbour under a promontory by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wrecks upon the shore; yet, forasmuch as he had suffered far greater loss of ships and men than had the enemy, and since he durst not in few days after put forth to sea, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to brave him in his port, the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithstanding, Philip afterwards besieged and won some towns in Caria; whether only in a bravery, and to despite his opposites, or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratagem by which he won Prinassus is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine; and finding the earth so stony that it resisted his work, he nevertheless commanded the pioneers to make a noise under ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the besieged that the work went marvellously forward. At length he sent word to the townsmen, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall stood only upon wooden props; to which if he gave fire, and entered by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The Prinassians little thought that he had fetched all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw, but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be outfaced, and gave up the town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But Philip could not stay to settle himself in those parts; Attalus and the Rhodians were too strong for him at sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war, seek matter of quarrel against Philip. The Athenians, upon slight cause, proclaim war against Philip, moved thereto by Attalus, whom they flatter. Philip wins divers towns, and makes peremptory answer to the Roman ambassador. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

THESE Asiatic matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make a noise in Rome, and fill the people's heads, if not with a desire of making war in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to do. The Roman senate was perfectly informed of the state of those eastern countries; and knew that there was none other nation than the Greeks which lay between them and the lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continual dealings in Greece ever since the reigns of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference between him and the naturals; yet most of them abhorred his dominion, because he was originally forsooth a Barbarian; many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels; and they that had been most beholding unto him were nevertheless weary of him by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope that the affairs of Greece would not long detain the Roman armies, especially since the divisions of the country were such, that every petty estate was apt to take counsel apart for itself, without much regarding the generality. But the poor commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise: they were already quite exhausted by that grievous war with Hannibal, wherein they had given by loan to the republic all their money; neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present money, but much of it in land, it behoved them to rest a while, and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they

took no pleasure to hear that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent ambassadors to solicit them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia; or that M. Aurelius, their agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the senate, and magnified his intelligence by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the towns upon the continent, but all the islands in those seas, visiting them in person, or sending ambassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the Romans upon their own ground. Philip had indeed no such intent; neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, especially with the help of the Ætolians their good friends, and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition, and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends; yet would he needs be seeking new enemies; and he found them such as he deserved to have them, for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making war upon them, or, in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that league of peace which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked, was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of oath whereby such articles of peace can be held inviolable, save only [k] *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *necessity*, which, whilst it binds one party or both

[k] Sir Fr. Bacon de Sap. veterum.

unto performance, making it apparent that he shall be a loser who starts from the conditions; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans never hearkened after Philip; for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was this river of Styx dried up; and then could they swear, as [1]Mercury did in the comedy, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of Sopater into Afric, and the present war against Attalus, were matter of quarrel as much as needed; or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

The Athenians, being at this time lords of no more than their own barren territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young gentlemen of Acarnania entering into the temple of Ceres, in the days of initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life,) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers; and though it was apparent that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to have therein done amiss, yet, as it had been for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their countrymen at home took this in ill part, and sought to revenge it as a public injury by war upon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip some Macedonians to help them, they entered into Attica, who wasted it with fire and sword, and carried thence away with them a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded Athenians, and made them think upon doing more than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send ambassadors to king Attalus, gratulating his happy success against Philip, and entreating him to visit their city. Attalus was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the Roman ambassadors, hover-

[1] Plaut. Amphitr.

ing about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoicing that he continued enemy to Philip, and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came forth of their city, all the magistrates, priests, and citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the king. They entertained the Romans that were with him in very loving manner; but towards Attalus himself they omitted no point of observance which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the city they called the people to assembly; where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself, saying, that with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit that he should deliver in writing what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The points of his declaration were, first, what he had willingly done for their sake; then, what had lately passed between him and Philip; lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilst he, with the Rhodians and the Romans, were willing and ready to take their part; which if they now refused to do, he protested that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little entreaty; for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours, and ordained, that unto the ten tribes, whereof the body of their citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a crown of gold, in reward of their virtue; and made all the Rhodians free citizens of Athens.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left

unto the Romans for their part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the Ætolians to their party, that, contrary to their old manner, were glad to be at quiet, Philip won the towns of Maronea and Ænus, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing over the Hellespont he laid siege unto Abydus, and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution and hope of succour from Attalus and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend itself against so mighty an enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither only one quadrireme galley, and Attalus no more than three hundred men; far too weak an aid to make good the place. The Roman ambassadors wondered much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These ambassadors, C. Claudius, M. Æmilius, and P. Sempronius, were sent unto Ptolomy Epiphanes king of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against Hannibal and the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that war, and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against Philip. This Egyptian king was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father Philopator had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesy for which the Romans were to thank him, was, that out of Egypt they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extreme dearth; when the miseries of war had made all their own provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the Egyptian; since it was well known how Philip and Antiochus had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his council for him, should offer to supply the Romans with corn; since this their Macedonian expedition concerned his estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complimental, so had the ambassadors both leisure and direction from the

senate, to look unto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Æmilius, the youngest of them, should step aside, and visit Philip, to try if he could make him leave the siege of Abydus, which else he was like to carry. Æmilius coming to Philip, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the league that he had made with the Romans: for Attalus and the Rhodians, upon whom he made war, were confederate with Rome; and the town of Abydus, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, that Attalus and the Rhodians had made war upon him, and that he did only requite them with the like. "Do you also," said Æmilius, "requite these poor Abydeni with such terrible "war, for any the like invasion by them first made upon "you?" The king was angry to hear himself thus taken short, and therefore he roundly made answer to Æmilius; "It is your youth, sir, and your beauty, and (above all) "your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. "But I would wish ye to remember the league that ye "have made with me, and to keep it: if ye do otherwise, "I will make ye understand, that the kingdom and name "of Macedon is in matter of war no less noble than the "Roman." So he dismissed the ambassador, and had the town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution to have died every one of them, and set their town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath, when Philip denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their youth; it was thought meet by the governors and ancients of the city to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their gold and silver to Philip: about which whilst they were busy, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort, that, by exhortation of their priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the king had so little compassion, that he said he would grant the Abydeni three days leisure to die; and to that end for-

bade his men to enter the town, or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

SECT. IX.

The Romans decree war against Philip, and send one of their consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time, both in quality and estate.

THIS calamity of the Abydeni was likened by the Romans unto that of the Saguntines, which indeed it nearly resembled; though Rome was not alike interested in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the war, they had found out another Saguntum, even the city of Athens; which if the Macedonian should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for Italy; whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum, in five months, but in the short space of five days sailing. Thus P. Sulpicius the consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make war upon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyrrhus was by him alleged, to shew what Philip, with the power of a greater kingdom, might dare to undertake; as also the fortunate voyage of Scipio into Afric, to shew the difference of making war abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own country. By such arguments was the commonalty of Rome induced to believe, that this war with the Macedonian was both just and necessary. So it was decreed, and immediately the same consul hasted away towards Macedon, having that province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the senate; who followed other motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the Athenian ambassadors, for their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves, that any Greek town, refusing to sue unto the

Macedonian for peace, requested their help against him. But the senate intending to take in hand the conquest of the eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, that Philip was making ready for Italy; and since neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other state in those quarters, desired the Romans to give them protection; these busy-headed Athenians, who, falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, about a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before,) sent ambassadors into all parts of the world, even to Ptolomy of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to Attalus and other their neighbours, must be accepted as cause of the war, and authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless, as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence, the doings of P. Sulpicius the consul were such as might have argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He sailed not about Peloponnesus, but took the ready way to Macedon; and landing about the river of Apsus, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, there began the war. Soon upon his coming the Athenian ambassadors were with him, and craved his help; whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was so far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them C. Claudius, with twenty galleys, and a competent number of men; but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The Athenians were not indeed besieged; only some rovers from Chalcis, in the isle of Eubœa, and some bands of adventurers out of Corinth, used to take their ships and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against king Philip, that was lord of these two towns. The robberies done by these pirates and freebooters, were by the more eloquent than warlike Athenians, in this declining age of their fortune and virtue, called a siege. From such detriment the arrival of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian galleys, easily preserved them. As for the Athenians them-

selves, they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Sicily; to make war upon the great Persian king, and to hold so much of Greece in subjection as made them redoubtable unto all the rest, had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly upon the glory and virtue of their ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

SECT. X.

The town of Chalcis in Eubœa taken and sacked by the Romans and their associates, that lay in garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise; wasteth the country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make war against Nabis for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again, and provides against his enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers princes join with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.

PHILIP, returning home from Abydus, heard news of the Roman consul's being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these invaders with all his forces, he received advertisement from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius, with his Romans, finding no such work at Athens as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the war, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a scarecrow, to save the Athenians' grounds from spoil, and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The town of Chalcis was negligently guarded by the Macedonian soldiers therein, for that there was no enemy at hand; and more negligently by the townsmen, who reposed themselves upon their garrison. Hereof Clau-

dius having advertisement, sailed thither by night, for fear of being descried; and, arriving there a little before break of day, took it by scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way; and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless Athenians to their own defence,) he set it on fire; consuming the king's magazines of corn, and all provisions for war, which were plenteously filled. Neither were he and his associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their ships, and with enlarging all those whom Philip, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despite and hatred unto the king, they overthrew and brake in pieces the statues unto him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards Athens, where the news of their exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The king lay then at Demetrias, about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter, yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the Athenians with their trusty friends, busy at work in ransacking the town, and loading themselves with spoil; but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at Chalcis only a few to bury the dead, he marched thence away speedily towards Athens; thinking it not unpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a foot-post, that stood scout for the city upon the borders, had not descried him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to Athens. It was midnight when this post came thither; who found all the town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their citadel to sound the alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours Philip was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busy preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of

his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned, (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, and had no cause of haste,) yet having in the town some mercenary soldiers, which they kept of their own, besides the great multitude of citizens, they adventured to issue forth at a gate whereto they saw Philip make approach. The king was glad of this, reckoning all those his own that were thus hardy: he therefore only willed his men to follow his example, and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour; and beating down many of the enemies with his own hands, drave them with great slaughter back into the city. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taken; for that they which were upon the towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without endangering their own people, that were thronging before him into the city. There was a temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a grove, and many goodly monuments besides, near adjoining unto Athens; of which he spared none, but suffered the rage of his anger to extend even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some companies of Attalus's men from Ægina; too late in regard of what was already past, but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to Corinth: and hearing that the Achæans held a parliament at Argos, he came thither to them unexpected.

The Achæans were devising upon war, which they intended to make against Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who being started up in the room of Machanidas, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries, and of his subjects had no regard: he was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extor-

tioner upon those that lived under him, and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the hangman. In these qualities his wife Apega was very fitly matched with him; since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives, whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their [m] jewels and apparel. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an image to be made lively representing her, and apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an [n] engine serving to torment men. Hereof he made use when he meant to try the virtue of his rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous, he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit Apega stood, and there use all his art of persuasion to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses, then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who sat by in a chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the image, that rose up, and opened the arms, as it were for embracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes; and herewith she griped the poor wretch to the pleasure of the tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse, (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him,) was Nabis in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the Ætolians, as Machanidas and Lycurgus had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans, and was comprehended in the league which they made with Philip at the end of their former war. Of Philopœmen's virtue he stood in fear, and therefore durst not provoke the Achæans, as long as they had such an able commander. But when Cycliades, a far worse captain, was their pretor, and all or the greatest part of their mercenaries were discharged, Philopœmen being also gone into Crete, to follow his beloved occupation of war, then did Nabis fall [redacted]

[m] Liv. lib. 32. [n] Excerpt. e Pol[redacted]

territory, and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their own safety in the towns.

Against this tyrant the Achæans were preparing for war when Philip came among them, and had set down what proportion of soldiers every city of their corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them not to trouble themselves with the care of this business, forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this war, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, that whilst he made war upon Lacedæmon, he ought not to leave his own towns unguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased to send a few men to Corinth, and some companies into the isle of Eubœa, that so he might securely pursue the war against Nabis. Immediately they found out his device, which was none other than to engage their nation in his war against the Romans. Wherefore their pretor Cycliades made him answer, that their laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their parliament than those for which it was assembled. So passing the decree upon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against Nabis, he brake up the assembly with every man's good liking; whereas in former times he had been thought no better than one of the king's parasites.

It grieved the king to have thus failed in his purpose with the Achæans. Nevertheless, he gathered up among them a few voluntaries, and so returned by Corinth back into Attica. There he met with Philocles, one of his captains, that with two thousand men had been doing what harm he might unto the country. With this addition of strength he attempted the castle of Eleusine, the haven of Piræus, and even the city of Athens. But the Romans made such haste after him by sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places, that he could no more than wreak his anger upon those goodly temples, with which the land of Attica was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable artificers, wrought in excellent marble, which they had in plenty of their own, or,

having long ago been masters of the sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down, but caused his men to break the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to the reparation. His loss at Chalcis being thus revenged upon Athens, he went home into Macedon, and there made provision, both against the Roman consul, that lay about Apollonia, and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the Ætolians; to whose parliament, shortly to be held at Naupactus, he sent an embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman consul encamped upon the river of Apsus. Thence he sent forth Apustius, his lieutenant, with part of the army, to waste the borders of Macedon. Apustius took sundry castles and towns, using such extremity of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good town which he won by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the consul with his spoil, he was charged in rear, upon the passage of a brook, by Athenagoras, a Macedonian captain; but the Romans had the better; and killing many of these enemies, took prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their camp. The success of this expedition, though it were not great, yet served to draw into the Roman friendship those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus the son of Scerdilaidas the Illyrian, Aminander king of the Athamanians, and Bato the son of Longarus, a prince of the Dardanians. They offered their assistance unto the consul, who thanked them; and said, that he would shortly make use of Pleuratus and Bato, when he entered into Macedon; but that the friendship of Aminander, whose country lay between the Ætolians and Thessaly, might be perhaps available with the Ætolians, to stir them up against Philip.

So the present care was wholly set upon the Ætolian parliament at hand. Thither came ambassadors from the

Macedonian, Romans, and Athenians. Of which the Macedonian spake first, and said, that as there was nothing fallen out which should occasion the breach of peace between his master and the Ætolians, so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be carried away after other men's fancies. He prayed them to consider how the Romans heretofore had made show, as if their war in Greece tended only to defence of the Ætolians; and yet notwithstanding had been angry that the Ætolians, by making peace with Philip, had no longer need of such their patronage. What might it be that made them so busy in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred which these Barbarians bore unto the Greeks. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the Mamertines, and afterwards delivered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian tyrants; but now both Syracuse and Messana were subject unto the rods and axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alleged many examples, adding, that in like sort it would happen to the Ætolians; who, if they drew such masters into Greece, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about war and peace; the Romans would ease them of this care, and send them such a moderator as went every year from Rome to Syracuse. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their league with Philip, with whom if at any time upon light occasion they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled; and with whom they had three years ago made the peace which still continued, although the same Romans were then against it, who sought to break it now.

It would have troubled the Romans to frame a good answer to these objections. For the Macedonian had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereto this their patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend: wherefore the Athenians were set on by them to speak next, who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough

to make Philip odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian ambassador to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians, knowing in what barbarous manner his own king had, in few days past, made war upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their temples in Attica. Herewithal they made a pitiful rehearsal of their own calamities, and said, that if Philip might have his will, Ætolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feel the same that Attica had felt; yea that Athens itself, together with Minerva, Jupiter, Ceres, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the walls and the Roman arms had not defended them.

Then spake the Romans, who, excusing as well as they could their own oppression of all those in whose defence they had heretofore taken arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made war in the Ætolian's behalf, and that the Ætolians had without their consent made peace; whereof since the Ætolians must excuse themselves by alleging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient; so this excuse being now taken away, and the Romans wholly bent against their common enemy, it concerned the Ætolians to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with Philip.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried unto the war by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those friends with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause why Dorymachus the Ætolian pretor shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer, though he told his countrymen, that, by reserving themselves till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was first in general terms, that overmuch haste was an enemy to good counsel, for which cause they must further deliberate ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a decree, "That the pretor might at any time call

"an assembly of the states, and therein conclude upon this "business, any law to the contrary notwithstanding:" whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, except in two of their great parliaments, that were held at set times.

SECT. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman fleet.

PHILIP was glad to hear that the Romans had sped no better in their solicitation of the Ætolians. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning of one great help, and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son Perseus, a very boy, was sent to keep the straits of Pelagonia against the Dardanians, having with him some of the king's council, to govern both him and his army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the king's son, how young soever, would both encourage his followers, and terrify the enemies, by making them at least believe that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason why the same Perseus, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of Ætolia by his father, whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand, it was thought that the Macedonian fleet under Heraclides would serve to keep Attalus, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harm by sea, when the king's back was turned, who took his journey westward against Sulpicius the consul.

The armies met in the country of the Dassaretii, a people in the utmost borders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountains of Candavia, that running along from Hæmus in the north, until they join in the south with Pindus, enclose the western parts of Macedon. Two or three days they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battle. The consul was the first that issued forth of his camp into the open field. But Philip was not confident in the strength which he had then about him, and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed mer-

cenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven back into their camp. Now although it was so that the king was unwilling to hazard all at first upon a cast, and therefore sent for Perseus with his companies to increase his own forces; yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation, he made show a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his targetiers, and so gave charge to Athenagoras, one of his captains, to provoke out the Romans to fight, instructing both him and the targetiers how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the king's directions had been well followed. For when Athenagoras began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drave him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the captains of the targetiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time, and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to try the fortune of a battle, which he therefore presented the second time, leading forth his army, and setting it in order, with elephants in front; a kind of help which the Romans had never used before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that Pyrrhus carried elephants out of Greece into Italy, to affright the Romans, who had never seen any of those beasts before: but now the same Romans (whilst possibly some were yet alive which had known that expedition of Pyrrhus) come into Macedon, bringing elephants with them, whereof the Macedonians and Greeks have none. Philip had patience to let the consul brave him at his trenches, wherein he did wisely, for the Roman had greater need to fight than he.

Sulpicius was unwilling to lose time; neither could he without great danger, lying so near the enemy that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off, presuming that Philip would not adventure to meet him on even ground, and so the more boldly he suffered his foragers to overrun the country. The king was nothing sorry of this, but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure, even till their presumption, and his own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his horse and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the midway between the foragers and their camp. There he stayed in covert, with part of his forces, to keep the passages, that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the country, to fall upon the stragglers, willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with news to the camp. The slaughter was great; and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the fields, lighted all or most of them upon the king and his companies in their flight, so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some, who, though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went, yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. Sulpicius hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful; he himself with the legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts, not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon Philip's troops, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it. But the main bulk of them fell upon the king himself. They had the disadvantage, as coming fewer and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away, as their fellows also might have been, if the king had well bethought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning, the Roman le-

gions appeared in sight, which emboldened their horse to make a recharge. Then the danger apparent enforced the Macedonians to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could, and (as men that lie in wait for others are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the enemy, they declined the fairest way, so as they were plunged in marishes and bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The king's horse was slain under him, and there had he been cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of peril, at the expense of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion Philip was charged with improvident rashness, and the consul with as much dulness, for this day's service. A little longer stay would have delivered the king from these enemies without any blow; since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, that if the Romans, following the king, had set upon his camp at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with fear of being either slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble historian Livy (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, that neither the one nor the other were much to blame in this day's work. For the main body of the king's army lay safe in his camp, and could not be so astonished with the loss of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the trenches. And as for the king himself, he was advertised that Pleuratus the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen upon his country, when they found the passage thereinto open, after Perseus was called away from custody of the straits. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might set the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, Philip was desirous to clear himself of the Romans as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the consul,

requesting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when he heard of the king's departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian phalanx was of little use; being a square battle of pikes, not fit for every ground. The archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few, and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shield. The Macedonians therefore helped them by flinging of stones; but to no purpose. For the Romans got within them, and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the consul some poor towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintain his army, and therefore he returned back to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the country. The king sent Athenagoras to wait upon them home, whilst he himself went against the Ætolians. For Damocritus, the prætor of the Ætolians, who had reserved himself and his nation unto the event of things, hearing report that Philip was beaten once and again, as also that Pleuratus and the Dardanians were fallen upon Macedon, grew no less busy on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He persuaded his nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim war, joined his forces with Aminander the Athamanian, and made invasion upon Thessaly. They took and cruelly sacked a few towns; whereby they grew confident, as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But Philip came upon them ere they looked for him; and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to

have taken their camp, if Aminander, more wary than the Ætolians, had not helped at need, and made the retreat through his own mountainous country.

About the same time the Roman fleet, assisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, had taken some small islands in the Ægean sea. They took likewise the town of Oreum in the isle of Eubœa, and some other places thereabout. The towns were given to Attalus, after the same compact that had formerly been made with the Ætolians; the goods therein found were given to the Romans, and the people for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered, either by foul weather at sea, or by want of daring, and of means.

SECT. XII.

Villius the Roman consul wastes a year to no effect. War of the Gauls in Italy. An embassy of the Romans to Carthage, Masinissa and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his kingdom, and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against him.

THUS the time ran away, and P. Villius, a new consul, took charge of the war in Macedon. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest soldiers; whereof two thousand, having served long in Sicily and Afric, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were, belike, of the legions that had served at Cannæ, as may seem by their complaint of having been long absent from Italy; whither fain they would have returned, when by their colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How Villius dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the history of his year is lost; whereof the miss is not great, since he did nothing memorable. Valerius Antias, as we find in Livy, hath adorned this Villius with a great exploit against Philip. [o] Yet since Livy himself, an historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good author, we may reasonably believe that Villius's year was idle.

In the beginning of this Macedonian war, the Romans found more trouble than could have been expected with the

[o] Livy, l. 32.

Gauls. Their colony of Placentia, a goodly and strong town, which neither Hannibal, nor, after him, Asdrubal, had been able to force, was taken by these barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort Cremona was attempted, but saved herself, taking warning by her neighbour's calamity. Amilcar, a Carthaginian that had stayed behind Asdrubal or Mago in those parts, was now become captain of the Gauls in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, giving them to understand, that, if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up this their citizen Amilcar, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added, (perhaps lest the message might seem otherwise to have savoured a little of some fear,) that of the fugitive slaves belonging unto the Romans, there were some reported to walk up and down in Carthage; which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their masters, as was conditioned in the late peace. The ambassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with Masinissa, as also with Vermina the son of Syphax. Unto Masinissa, besides matter of compliment, they were to signify what pleasure he might do them by lending them some of his Numidian horse, to serve in their war against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the senate to vouchsafe unto him the name of king; and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, that having been, and being still (as they took it) their enemy, he ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of king was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him was wholly committed unto these ambassadors, upon such terms as they should think fit, without further relation to the senate and people: for they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, that they wholly disclaimed Amilcar; banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As

for the fugitives, they had restored as many as they could find; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of corn to Rome, and the like unto the army that was in Macedon. King Masinissa would have lent unto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian horse; but they were contented with half the number, and would accept no more. Vermina met with the ambassadors, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his kingdom; and, without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the Romans busied in taking order for their Macedonian war, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Amilcar and his Gauls, they laid siege unto Cremona; where L. Furius, a Roman pretor, came upon them, fought a battle with them, and overcame them. Amilcar the Carthaginian died in this battle; and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easy to those that afterwards should have the managing of war among those Gauls. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of Macedon; where Philip was carefully providing to give contentment unto his subjects, by punishing a bad counsellor whom they hated; as also to assure unto himself the Achæans, by rendering unto them some towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when Villius, having unprofitably laboured to find way into Macedon, taking a journey (as Sulpicius had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to try a new course. But then came advertisement that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen consul, and had Macedon allotted him for his province, whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the army.

SECT. XIII.

The Romans begin to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius wins a passage against Philip. Thessaly wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans, forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the tyrant, who presently enters into league with the Romans.

THE Romans had not been wont in former times to make war after such a trifling manner. It was their use to give battle to the enemy as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his towns; and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it, (as it would be interpreted,) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their war with Philip, they began to learn of the subtle Greeks the art of negotiation; wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their treasury was poor, and stood indebted, [p] many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punic war. This had made the commonalty averse from the Macedonian war, and had thereby driven the senators, greedy of the enterprise, to make use of their cunning. Yet, being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their confederates. So they levied eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, (the greater part of them of the Latins,) which they sent with T. Quintius Flaminius, the new consul, into Macedon. Their navy, and other means, could well have served for the setting forth and transportation of a greater army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousy in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some friends; yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies more than of their own soldiers. This pre-

[p] Livy, l. 34.

sent augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his ambassadors, requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his kingdom against Antiochus, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that he quitted the war with Philip, and returned home, to look unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, that it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends longer than their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; that they could not honestly take part with Attalus, their good friend though he were, against Antiochus, whom they held in the like account; but that they would deal with Antiochus by ambassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the kings) do their best to persuade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves towards their good friend the king Antiochus; who reciprocally, at their entreaty, withdrew his army from the kingdom of Attalus. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with Philip, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his province with the supply decreed unto him, which consisted, for the most part of old soldiers that had served in Spain and Afric. He found Villius the old consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged,) and king Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the straits of Epirus, by the river of Apsus, or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into Macedon through the poor country of the Dassaretians, or else win by force that passage which the king defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together misspent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals, whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these mountains, which divided the south of Epirus from

Thessaly, then should they enter into a plentiful country; and which, by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his kingdom, whereof it made the south border. Nevertheless the desire of winning this passage was greater than the likelihood: for the river of Apsus, running along through that valley which alone was open between the mountains, made it all a deep marish and unpassable bog; a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by man's hand. Wherefore Quintius assayed to climb in the mountains; but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easy, he was compelled to sit still without doing any thing for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto Philip, that the war might be ended by composition upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom he had many friends,) that he and the consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The consul would have him to set all towns of Greece at liberty; and to make amends for the injuries which he had done to many people in his late wars. Philip was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late; but unto such as had been long subject unto him and his ancestors, he thought it against all reason that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, that as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any town or people whatsoever, he could well be pleased to make such amends as might seem convenient in the judgment of some free state that had not been interested in those quarrels. But herewithal Quintius was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgment or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent that Philip had always been the invader, and had not made war, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars, and when the consul was required to name those towns that he would have to be set at liberty, the first that he named were the Thessalians. These had been subjects

(though conditional) unto the Macedonian kings ever since the days of Alexander the Great and of Philip his father. Wherefore, as soon as Flaminius had named the Thessalians, the king in a rage demanded, what sharper condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flung away, refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this, the consul strove in vain, two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take, there came to him an herdsman, sent from Charopus, a prince of the Epirots that favoured the Romans, who, having long kept beasts in those mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound; and being promised great reward in case he made good his word, had such companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night, (it being then about the full of the moon,) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the Macedonians, (though undiscovered by them, because at their backs,) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journey, T. Quintius had held with the Macedonian, thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent; he pressed as near as he could unto the enemies' camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged Philip on the back, astonished so the Macedonians, that they betook themselves to flight. The king, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save him-

self. Yet anon, considering that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the Romans from pursuing him, he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his camp and provisions, if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in fear, lest, being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the enemy upon equal ground: neither was Philip himself much better persuaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their towns and country; carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be persuaded thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful country, which had ever been well affected unto him; so that a little hinderance did serve to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his kingdom of Macedon.

The Ætolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade Thessaly; whereinto the ways lay more open out of their several countries. When therefore they heard for certainty that Philip was beaten by the Romans, they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while; but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his army. Thus were the poor Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few days since had made show to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their confederates, not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. T. Quintius won Phaleria by assault; Metro-

polis and Piera yielded unto him. Rhage he besieged; and, having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it, so stoutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. Philip also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about Tempe with his army, thrusting men into all places that were like to be distressed. So the consul having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at Rhage, brake up his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meet him at Anticyra, an haven town of Phocis, on the gulf of Corinth; which country, being friend to the Macedonian, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between Thessaly and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many towns in Phocis he won by assault; many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time L. Quintius the consul's brother, being then admiral for the Romans in this war, joined with king Attalus and the Rhodian fleet. They won two cities in Eubœa, and afterward laid siege unto Cenchree, an haven and arsenal of the Corinthians on their eastern sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the Achæans, in their desire to leave the part of Philip; since it might come to pass, that Corinth itself, ere long time were spent, and that Cenchree, with other places appertaining to Corinth, now very shortly should be rendered unto their nation by favour of the Romans.

But there were other motives inducing the Achæans to prefer the friendship of the Romans before the patronage of Philip, whereto they had been long accustomed: for this king had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him, whilst, being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himself their absolute lord, his poisoning of Aratus their

old governor, his false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their confederates, and his own dependants, together with many particular outrages by him committed, had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since, by the virtue of Philopœmen, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as without the Macedonian's help they could as well subsist as having him to friend, then did they only think how evil he was, and thereupon rejoice the more in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected, and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of [p] Philopœmen. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the wood which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. Philopœmen wrought so with the Achæans, that no discourse was more familiar with them than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonian. Cycliadas, a principal man among them, and lately their pretor, was expelled by them for shewing himself passionate in the cause of Philip, and Aristænus chosen pretor, who laboured to join them in society with the Romans.

These news were very welcome to T. Quintius. Ambassadors were sent from the Romans, and their confederates king Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Achæans; making promise, that they should have Corinth restored unto them, if they would forsake the Macedonian. A parliament of the Achæans was held at Sicyon, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the Romans and their adherents desired the Achæans to join with them in making war upon Philip: contrariwise, the ambassadors of Philip, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the Achæans of their alliance with the king, and of their faith due unto him, requested them that they would be contented to remain as neuters. This moderate request of Philip's ambassador did no way advance his master's cause; rather it gave the Achæans to understand,

[p] Plut. in Vita Philopœm. Justin. l. 29.

that he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratify them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great council, who, remembering the benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient league. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future, prevailed against the memory of those old good turns which he (and Antigonus before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, that the Romans were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So, after much altercation, the decree passed, that they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this war. With Attalus and the Rhodians they forthwith entered into society: with the Romans (because no league would be of force until the senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those ambassadors from Rome, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymæans, and Argives, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound, rose up out of the council, and departed before the passing of the decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good-will, and greater which they shortly manifested, the Argives had so little thank, that all the rest of the Achæans may be the better held excused for escaping how they might out of the hands of so fell a prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at Argos, the affection of the citizens discovered itself so plainly in the behalf of Philip, that they which were his partisans within the town, made no doubt of putting the city into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. Philocles, a lieutenant of the king's, lay then in Corinth; which he had manfully defended against the Romans and Attalus. Him the conspirators drew to Argos; whither coming on a sud-

den, and finding the multitude ready to join with him, he easily compelled the Achæan garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other towns, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some good end by treaty; whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it, and when (the winter being now come on) a new consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the work out of Titus's hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. Titus had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to predispose things unto a conclusion for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the sea-shore, in the bay then called the Malian, or Lamian bay, now (as is supposed) the gulf of Ziton, in the Ægæan sea, or Archipelago. Thither came Titus, with Aminander the Athamanian; an ambassador of Attalus, the admiral of Rhodes, and some agents for the Ætolians and Achæans. Philip had with him some few of his own captains, and Cycliadas, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refused to come on shore, though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal gods; yet misdoubting some treachery in the Ætolians. The demands of Titus, in behalf of the Romans, were, that he should set all cities of Greece at liberty; deliver up to the Romans and their confederates all prisoners which he had of theirs, and renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in Illyria; and whatsoever about Greece or Asia he had gotten from Ptolomy, then king of Egypt, after his father's death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made entire of ships, towns, and temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late war between them. The Rhodians would have again the country of Peræa, lying over against their island; as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers towns about the Hellespont, and other havens of their friends. The Achæans desired restitution of Argos and Corinth; about the one of which they might not unjustly quarrel with him, the other had been long his

own by their consent. The Ætolians took upon them angrily, as patrons of Greece, willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content; but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessaly, corrupting, as they said, the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those towns which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapert Ætolians, Philip commanded his galley to row nearer the shore. But they began to ply him afresh; telling him, that he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of arms. He answered them (as he was much given to gibing) with sundry scoffs; and especially with one, which made the Roman consul understand what manner of companions these Ætolians were: for he said, that he had often dealt with them; as likewise, the rest of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law which permitted them to take spoil from spoil: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia. Titus wondered what might be the meaning of this strange law. So the king told him, that they held it a laudable custom, as often as war happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel by sending voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of Greece, he said it was strange that the Ætolians should be so careful thereof, since divers tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no Grecians: wherefore he would fain know, whether the Romans would give him leave to make slaves of those Ætolians which were no Greeks. Titus hereat smiled; and was no whit offended to hear the Ætolians well rattled up; touching whom he began to understand how odious they were in all the country. As for that general demand of setting all Greece at liberty, Philip acknowledged that it might well beseem the greatness of the Romans, though he would also consider what

[q] Excerpt. e Polyb. l. 17.

might beseem his own dignity. But that the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other petty estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the Romans, to take upon them, as if by their great might he should be hereunto compelled, it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achæans he charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some decrees of their own, wherein they had loaden both Antigonus and him with more than human honours. Nevertheless he said, that he would render Argos unto them; but as touching Corinth, that he would further deliberate with Titus himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the Roman general; unto whom if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late war, he said, was only defensive, they having been the offerers; or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping Prusias, his son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoiling a temple of Venus, he had cut down the grove and pleasant walks thereabouts; what could he do more than send gardeners thither with young plants, if one king of another would stand to ask such recompense. Thus he jested the matter out; but offered nevertheless, in honour of the Romans, to give back the region of Peræa to the Rhodians; as likewise to Attalus, the ships and prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that day's conference, because it was late; Philip requiring a night's leisure to think upon the articles, which were many, and he ill provided of counsel wherewith to advise about them. "For your being so ill provided of counsel," said Titus, "you may even thank yourself, as having murdered all "your friends that were wont to advise you faithfully." The next day Philip came not until it was late at night, excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he thereby sought to abridge the Ætolians of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely; for that he desired conference in private with the

Roman general. The sum of his discourse, as Titus afterward related it, was, that he would give to the Achæans both Argos and Corinth; as also, that he would render unto Attalus and the Rhodians what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Ætolians, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the Romans, whatsoever they did challenge. This when Titus's associates heard, they exclaimed against it; saying, that if the king were suffered to retain any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendered up. The noise that they made came to Philip's ear, who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not persuade them, he would suffer himself to be persuaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning; at what time the king entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace, and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those conditions which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send ambassadors to Rome, where he would refer himself to the courtesy of the senate.

This was even as Quintius would have it; who stood in doubt, lest a new consul might happen to defraud him of the honour which he expected by ending of the war. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was winter, a time unfit for service in the war; and since, without authority of the senate, he should be unable to proceed resolvedly either in war or peace. Further, he willed them to send their several ambassadors to Rome; which, intimating unto the senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he persuaded king Aminander to make a journey to Rome in person; knowing well that the name of a king, together with the confluence of so many ambassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the city. All this tended to procure that his own command of the army in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt

with some of the tribunes of the people at Rome; who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him; partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alleged unto the senate.

The ambassadors of the Greeks, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the king, with good liking of the senate; which was more desirous of victory than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans in undertaking to set Greece at liberty: but this, they said, could never be effected, unless especial care were taken that the king should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a map of the country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility, that the senate agreed to have it even so as they desired. When therefore the ambassadors of Philip were brought in, and began to have made a long oration, they were briefly cut off in the midst of their preface, with this one demand; "Whether "their master would yield up Corinth, Chalcis, and Deme-"trias?" Hereto they made answer, that, concerning those places, the king had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough: the senate would no longer hearken to Philip's desire of peace; wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his ambassadors have truly said, that neither the Ætolians, Achæans, nor any of their fellows, had in the late treaty required by name that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yielded up: for which of them indeed could make any claim to either of these towns? As for Corinth, whereto the Achæans had some right, (though their right were no better, than that having stolen it from one Macedonian king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another,) Philip had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alleged, even against the Greeks, in excuse of the king, by some of T. Quintius's friends; that so he might have had the honour to conclude the war, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue

general, neither his friends at Rome, nor he himself, after the return of the ambassadors into Greece, cared to give ear unto any talk of peace.

Philip, seeing that his Achæans had forsaken him, and joined with their common enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many years past, since the Lacedæmonians under Cleomenes, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the Macedonians and Achæans together. But now the condition of things was altered: Nabis's force consisted in a manner wholly in his mercenaries; for he was a tyrant, though styling himself king. Yet he sorely vexed the Achæans; and therefore seemed unto Philip one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose, it was thought meet that the town of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands; in hope that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the Macedonian. Philocles, the king's lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with Nabis, added further, that it was his master's purpose to make a strait alliance with the Lacedæmonian, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto Nabis's sons. This could not but be well taken: yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the town of Argos, unless by decree of the citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argives; but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them: so he willed Philocles, without more ado, to make over the town which he was ready to receive. Philocles accordingly did let him with his army into it by night, and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argives, who for very love had forsaken the Achæans to take his part. Early in the morning, the tyrant made him-

self master of all the gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went, fled out of the city at the first tumult: wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their gold and silver: also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado; but if any stood long upon the matter, or played the thieves in purloining their own goods, they were put to the whip, and, besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the tyrant began to make popular laws, namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascal multitude; abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custom of tyrants to assure themselves of the vulgar for a time.

As soon as Nabis had gotten Argos, he sent the news to T. Quintius, and offered to join with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it; so as he took the pains to cross over the straits into Peloponnesus, there to meet with Nabis. They had soon agreed, (though king Attalus, who was present with the consul, made some cavil touching Argos,) and the tyrant lent unto the Romans six hundred of his mercenaries of Crete: as also he agreed with the Achæans upon a truce for four months, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them until the war of Philip should be ended; which after this continued not long.

SECT. XIV.

The battle at Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

TITUS QUINTIUS, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the army, without any other limitation of time than during the pleasure of the senate, made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the war. The like did Philip; who having failed in his nego-

tiation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that war, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

[r] Titus had in his army about six and twenty thousand, and Philip a proportionable number; but neither of them knew the other's strength, or what his enemy intended to do. Only Titus heard that Philip was in Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the city of Pheræ; where the vancouriers on both sides discovered each other, and sent word thereof unto their several captains. But neither of them were overhasty to commit all to hazard upon so short warning. The day following, each of them sent out three hundred horse, with as many light-armed foot, to make a better discovery: these met, and fought a long while; returning finally back into their several camps, with little advantage unto either side. The country about Pheræ was thick set with trees, and otherwise full of gardens and mud walls, which made it unproper for service of the Macedonian phalanx. Wherefore the king dislodged, intending to remove back unto Scotusa in the frontier of Macedon; where he might be plentifully served with all necessaries. Titus conceived aright his meaning, and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards, were it only to waste the country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took: nevertheless they encamped not far asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous, and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before: these meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse; but Philip anon sent in such a strong supply, that if the resistance of the Ætolians had not been desperate, the Romans their fellows had been driven back into their camp. Yet, all resistance notwith-

[r] Plut. in Vita T. Q. Flam.

standing, the Macedonians prevailed; so that Titus himself was fain to bring forth his legions, that were not a little discouraged by the defeat of all their horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the king's purpose, to put the fortune of a battle in trust that day with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose; insomuch as he embattled his men, and climbed up those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance unto dogs'-heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynoscephalæ*. As soon as he was on the hill-top, it did him good to see that they of his own light armature were busy in fight almost at the very camp of the enemies, whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to choose his ground as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the Romans were quite driven from all parts of the hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use; the roughness of the place among those dogs'-heads, as they were called, serving nothing aptly for his phalanx. Nevertheless he found convenient room wherein to marshal the one part of his army, and gave order unto his captains to follow with the rest; embattling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this, he perceived that his horsemen and light armature began to shrink; as being fallen upon the Roman legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoil. He sets forward to help them, and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour; having the Romans not far behind them.

As the legions began to climb the hill, Philip commanded those of his phalanx to charge their pikes and entertain them. Here Titus found an extreme difficult piece of work: for this phalanx, being a great square battle of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern wars, and being in like manner used as are ours, was not to be resisted by the Roman targetiers, as long as the

phalanx itself held together undissolved. The Macedonians were embattled in very close order, so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans, as also the pikes of the first rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their foreman. Wherefore it is no marvel if the Romans gave back, every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once, and not able to come nearer unto the next of them than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. Titus finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled, for that still the phalanx bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, that they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able, through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order, so as either they kept their places on the hill-tops, or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battle to march up the hill against these ill-ordered troops, his elephants leading the way, to increase the terror. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do, as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed, if they should have done their best, it could not have served, since the ground whereon they stood made their weapons unuseful. For let it be supposed, that Philip, having six and twenty thousand in his army, (as he is said to have been equal to the enemy in number,) had four thousand horse, four thousand targetiers, and four thousand light-armed, so shall there remain fourteen thousand pikes, whereof he himself had embattled the one half in a phalanx, the other half in the left wing, are they whom Quintius is ready now to charge. The phalanx, having usually sixteen in file, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well near four hundred and forty in rank; but four hundred would serve to make a front long enough; the other forty, or seven and thirty, files might

be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the targetiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as [s] Polybius doth, to every man of them three foot of ground, this front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open champaign, free from incumbrance of trees, ditches, hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoin this close battle of the phalanx, was not every where to be found. Here at Cynoscephalæ Philip had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men, the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order by the roughness of the dogs'-heads. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them, nor found any difficulty in mastering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the elephants caused them to give back, and the coming on of the legions to betake themselves unto flight. A Roman tribune, or colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others; and being followed by twenty ensigns, or maniples, that is, (as they might fall out,) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work, and mainly helpful to making of the victory complete. He considered that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten above the king's head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the hill after the king's phalanx, fell upon it in the rear. The hindmost ranks of the phalanx, all of them indeed save the first five, were accustomed, when the battles came to joining, to carry their pikes upright, and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen, and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the Macedonian phalanx, that it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in front. For though it were

[s] Excerpt. e Polyb. l. 17.

so, that Alexander, when he was to fight with Darius in Mesopotamia, arranged his phalanx in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many fronts looking sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form, as also at the same time he embattled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, that Alexander's men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground, not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons, and fled. The king himself had thought until now, that the fortune of the battle was every where alike, and the day his own: but hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a troop of horse to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the Romans at his back on the higher ground, he presently betook himself to flight. Neither stayed he afterwards in any place, (except only a small while about Tempe, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow,) until he was gotten into his own kingdom of Macedon.

There died of the Roman army in this battle about seven hundred; of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slain, and five thousand taken prisoners.

SECT. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with Antiochus.

THE Ætolians wonderfully vaunted themselves, and desired to have it noised through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by sacking the Macedonian camp, whilst the Romans were busied in the chase. Titus therefore, being offended both at

their vainglory, and at their ravenous condition, purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, that, by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in Greece, who detested the Ætolians much more vehemently than ever they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battle, Titus made haste unto Larissa, a city of Thessaly, which he presently took. Before his coming, Philip had sent thither one of his courtiers, to burn all his letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others; of which many were there kept. It was well done of the king, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Larissa might well perceive that he gave them as already lost: wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the same time the town of Leucas, bordering upon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman fleet, and very soon after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike nation, and, in hatred of the Ætolians, ever true to Philip, gave up themselves unto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Peræa, a region of the continent over against their island, whereof they had demanded restitution in the late treaty of peace with Philip. They did herein more manly than any other of the Greeks; forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans, but with an army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the Achæans and other their friends, gave battle to Dinocrates the king's lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, and consequently recovered the whole province. It angered Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction to invade his kingdom, wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an army, in all haste, of six thousand foot and five hundred horse, wherewith coming upon them,

he drave them, with little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the kingdom. Which done, he returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise he had success answerable to his desire; but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity, and therefore sent in all haste Limnæus and Demosthenes, with Cycliadas the banished Achæan, in whom he reposed much confidence, ambassadors unto Titus. These had conference a long while in private with Titus and some of his Roman colonels, by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had commission to refer all unto Titus's own discretion, as Philip himself in few days after did. There was granted unto them a truce for fifteen days, in which time the king himself might come and speak with the Roman general. In the mean season, many suspicious rumours went of Titus, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king to betray the Greeks his confederates. Of these bruits the Ætolians were chief authors, who, being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and Philip, Titus had sent letters unto his associates, willing them to have their agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the treaty should be held. There, when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the king's arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every estate in particular. The poor king Aminander besought them all, and especially the Romans, that they would think upon him, and considering his weakness, which he confessed, make such provision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, Philip might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to resist. Then spake Alexander, one of the Ætolians; who commending Titus, forsomuch as he had thus assembled the confederates to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver

their minds freely, added, that in the main of the purpose which he had in hand he was utterly deceived, for that by making peace with Philip he could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the senate and people of Rome, or with the fair promises made by Titus himself unto the Greeks, than the chasing of Philip quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse: but Titus answered, that this Ætolian was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the senate and people of Rome, or with the laudable customs which they generally held; for that it was not the manner of the Romans to seek the utter destruction of any king or nation, at such time as they first made war with them, until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alleged the Carthaginians as a notable example, adding, that victory to generous minds was only an inducement unto moderation. As concerning the public benefit of Greece, it was, he said, expedient, that the kingdom of Macedon should be greatly weakened and brought low, not that it should be utterly destroyed; forasmuch as it served as a bar to the Thracians, Gauls, and a multitude of other savage nations, which would soon overflow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if Philip would yield unto those demands wherewith he had pressed him in the former treaty, then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for the Ætolians, if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure to take counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began Phaneas, another of the Ætolians, to say, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long Philip would trouble all the Greeks no less than he had done in time before. But Titus interrupted him, and bade him leave his babbling, saying, that himself would take such order, as that Philip, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the Greeks.

The next day king Philip came thither, whom Titus used friendly; and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a council the day following, wherein the king yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the senate, if they would have more added to the conditions. Phaneas the Ætolian, insulting over him, said, it was to be hoped that he would then at length give up to the Ætolians a many of towns, (which he there named,) bidding him speak whether he would or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But Titus, interposing himself, said, it should be otherwise; these were Thessalian towns, and should all be free, one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit itself to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the Ætolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out, that it was too great an injury thus to defraud them of the towns that had sometime belonged unto their commonweal. Rather he willed Titus to consider, that, by an ancient covenant between them and the Romans, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the Romans to have nothing, save the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former war, but it ceased to be of any validity as soon as the Ætolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them to understand, asking them, whether they thought it reasonable that all the towns in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the Ætolians. The rest of the confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the Roman and the Ætolians; neither had they great reason to fear any hard measure, since Titus was so earnest in behalf of those Thessalians to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves, but gave their consent willingly unto a truce for four months.

The chief cause that moved Titus to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custom by him before alleged, was the fame of Antiochus's coming

with an army from Syria, and drawing near toward Europe. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive, even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right: for when his letters, together with ambassadors from the Macedonian and sundry states of Greece, came unto Rome, new consuls were chosen; who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace, alleging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the ambassadors of Philip offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the letters of Titus, pressing them to accept this offer on the one side, and the importunity of the consul on the other, who said, that all these goodly shows were fraudulent, and that the king would rebel, as soon as the army was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the senators' hands by two of the tribunes, that referred it to an assembly of the people; by whose sovereign authority it was concluded, that peace should be granted unto the king. So ten ambassadors were sent from Rome over into Greece, in which number were they that had been consuls before Titus; and it was ordained by their advice, that Titus should go through with the business of peace. These would very fain have retained those three important cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, until the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally Titus prevailed, so that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendered unto the Achæans; and all the other Greek towns which Philip held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored unto liberty.

The conditions of the peace granted unto Philip were, that before the celebration of the next [t] Isthmian games, he should withdraw his garrisons out of all the Greek towns which he held, and consign them over to the Romans; that he should deliver up unto them all captives that he had of theirs, and all renegadoes; likewise all his ships of war, re-

[t] E Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 9.

serving to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every oar: further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years next following, by even portions. Hereto [u] Livy adds, that he was forbidden to make war out of Macedon, without permission of the senate: but I find not that he observed this article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered unto Titus, together with his younger son Demetrius, to remain as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his ambassadors to Rome; when it was promised that the money, and his son, should be restored back unto him, if the senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot find; and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young Demetrius, who together with those four hundred talents was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargain which Titus formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by Titus unto Prusias king of Bithynia; giving him to understand what agreement was made by Philip in behalf of the Greeks, and how the senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by Philip, to gratify this Bithynian, his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their nation did. What effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly material; since the Romans were shortly busied with Antiochus in such wise, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of Prusias to their will.

All Greece rejoiced at the good bargain which Titus had made with Philip. Only the Ætolians found themselves aggrieved that they were utterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Bœotians continued to favour the Macedonian, and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well affected to the Romans; who seeing how things

[u] Livy, l. 33.

were like to go, made their complaint unto Titus, saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good-will which they had borne unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his army, their pretor, which was head of the opposite faction, might be made away. Titus refused to have an hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture, the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take arms against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their camp, they murdered in all parts of the country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found: hereupon Titus requires of the Bœotians, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends ambassadors to the Achæans and Athenians, informing them what had happened; and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to wasting their country, and besiegeth two such towns of theirs as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the ambassadors of the Achæans and Athenians (especially of the Achæans, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the Bœotians) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with thirty talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many states of Greece distracted; some among them rejoicing that they were free from the Macedonian, others greatly doubting that the Roman would prove a worse neighbour. The Ætolians would have been glad of any commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, that it was the pur-

pose of the Romans to keep in their own hands all those places wherein Philip lately had his garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greeks, conceive, that this Macedonian war served as an introduction to the war to be made in Asia against king Antiochus; where grew the fruit that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumours when the Isthmian games were held, which in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse, Titus, in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet to this effect; That the senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the general, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, did will to be at liberty, free from impositions, free from garrisons, and living at their own laws, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubœans, Achæans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. The suddenness of this proclamation astonished men; so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The Greeks were craftsmasters in the art of giving thanks; which they rendered now to T. Quintius with so great affection, as that they had well near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good-will of all the Greeks was like to be much more available unto the Romans in their war against Antiochus, than could have been the possession of a few towns, yea or of all those provinces which were named in their proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were these Isthmian games at an end, than Titus, with the Romans that were of his council, gave audience to Hegesianax and Lysias, king Antiochus's ambassadors; whom they willed to signify unto their lord, that he should do well to abstain from the free cities in Asia, and not vex them with war: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the kings Ptolomy or Philip. Moreover they willed him by these his ambassadors, that he should not pass over his army into Europe; adding, that some of them would visit

him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the Greeks; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gave unto the Ætolians; whom they thought it no wisdom to offend over-much, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The Achæans of Phthiotis they annexed unto the Thessalians; all save the town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had been abandoned by T. Quintius to the Ætolians in the last treaty with Philip. The Ætolians contended very earnestly about Pharsalus and Leucas: but they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the senate: for howsoever somewhat the council might favour them, yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despite of Titus. To the Achæans were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeed, (though the Romans yet a while kept the Acrocorinthus,) for that all, which were partakers of the Achæan commonwealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To Pleuratus the Illyrian were given one or two places taken by the Romans from Philip; and upon Aminander were bestowed those castles which he had gotten from Philip during this war, to reign in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had been their own carvers: Attalus was dead a little before the victory, and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with Titus in council would have given the towns of Oreum and Eretria, in the isle of Eubœa, to his son and successor king Eumenes. But finally it was concluded, that these, as well as the rest of the Eubœans, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. Orestis, a little province of the kingdom of Macedon bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian sea, had yielded unto the Romans long ere this, and since continued true to them; for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made a free estate by itself.

These businesses being despatched, it remained that all care should be used, not how to avoid the war with king

Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore ambassadors were sent both to Antiochus himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to predispose them unto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of war against this king the Romans now had, or shortly after found, as also how their ambassadors and agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his adherents.

SECT. I.

What kings, of the races of Seleucus and Ptolomy, reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

SELEUCUS NICATOR[x], the first of his race, king of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slain by Ptolomy Ceraunus, at an altar called Argos; having (as is said) been warned before by an oracle to beware of Argos, as the fatal place of his death. But I never have read that any man's life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of such devilish oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the heathen gods have been antedated by their priests or by others, which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this Seleucus, was dearly beloved of his father; who surrendered up unto him his own wife Stratonica, when he understood how much the young prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolomy Ceraunus had great cause to fear, that the death of Seleucus would not be unrevenged by this his successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, either with

[x] Polyb. lib. 5.

gifts, or perhaps only with fair words; containing himself within Asia, and letting Ceraunus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of Seleucus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the queen Stratonica in his father's life; yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead: so that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes king of Bithynia: also Lutarius and Leonorius, kings or captains of the Gauls, were set upon him by the same Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battle; wherein though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against Ptolomy Philadelphus; but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this king Antiochus Soter it was, that Berosus the Chaldæan dedicated his [y] History of the Kings of Assyria; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the friar Annius. He left behind him one son, called Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married unto the king of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth, or one and fiftieth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Antiochus, surnamed Theos, or *the god*, had this vain and impious title given unto him by flattery of the Milesians, whom he delivered from Timarchus, a tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless war with Ptolomy Philadelphus king of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of Ptolomy.

Of these two kings, and of this lady Berenice, St. Jerome and other interpreters have understood that prophecy of [z] Daniel, *The king's daughter of the south shall come to the*

[y] Genebrard. lib. 2. Just. Mart. in Parænn. [z] Dan. xi. 6.

king of the north to make an agreement, and that which followeth.

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of peace and learning, and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own sister Arsinoe) a very excellent prince; howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he that built and furnished with books that famous library in Alexandria; which to adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto Eleazar, then high priest of the Jews, for the books of Moses and other scriptures. The benefits of this king unto the Jews had formerly been very great, for he had set at liberty as many of them as his father held in slavery throughout all Egypt, and he had sent unto the [a] temple of God in Jerusalem very rich presents. Wherefore Eleazar yielding to the king's desire, presented him with an Hebrew copy, which Ptolomy caused to be translated into Greek, by seventy-two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the tribes. In this number of the seventy-two interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the Seventy, Jesus the son of Sirach is thought by Genebrard to have been one; who that he lived in this age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by Jansenius, in his preface unto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business between Philadelphus and the high priest was written (as [b] Josephus affirms) by Aristæus, that was employed therein. Forty years Ptolomy Philadelphus was king, reckoning the time wherein he jointly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people, and highly magnified by poets and other writers. Towards his end, he grew more voluptuous than he had been in his former years; in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honour-

[a] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 42.

[b] Jos. Ant. l. 12. c. 2. Concerning that book which now goes under the name of Aristæus, many learned men, and among the rest Lodovicus Vives, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some later author, Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of Vives, it may be now much more justly suspected, since a new edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults,* (as the papists term those books, wherein they have changed what they please,) and set forth by Middendorpius at Colen, A. D. 1578.

able deeds, it might have stood with reason, otherwise the gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own error. He was the first of the kings derived from Alexander's successors that entered into league with the Romans; as also his offspring was the last among those royal families which by them was rooted up.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at such time as he married with Berenice, the daughter of this Ptolomy. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard than if she had been his concubine. Laodice hated him for this, yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son Seleucus Callinicus was of ability to be king. This was two or three years after the death of Ptolomy Philadelphus; at what time she poisoned her husband Theos; and by permission of Seleucus her son murdered Berenice, together with a son that she had borne to Antiochus. [c] Justin reports, that Berenice saved herself, together with the young prince her child, a while in the sanctuary at Daphne; and that not only some cities of Asia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolomy Euergetes, king of Egypt, came to rescue her with an army, though too late, for she was slain before.

With such cruelties, Seleucus Callinicus, succeeding unto his father, that had fifteen years been king, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature, which they discovered in his first entrance: wherefore it was like that his estate would have been much endangered, if Ptolomy Euergetes, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own country, by some commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear arms against Ptolomy in defence of their own king, but rather they sided with the Egyptian, who took Laodice the king's mother, and rewarded her with death, as she had well deserved. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled Euergetes home into Egypt, went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make war upon his own subjects, because of

[c] Justin, l. 27.

their bad affection towards him, when as it had been much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great fleet he prepared; in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself, and, putting to sea, met with such a tempest as devoured all, save himself, and a very few of his friends, that hardly escaped. This calamity having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good, as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences, they had commiseration of his estate, and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him with such spirit, as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty army for that purpose; but his fortune was no better at land than it had been at sea. He was vanquished by Ptolomy in a great battle, whence he escaped hardly, no better attended than after his late shipwreck. Hasting therefore back to Antioch, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels, he wrote unto his brother Antiochus Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed, and promising, in recompense of his faith and diligence, the dominion of a great part of Asia. Antiochus was then but fourteen years old, yet extremely ambitious, and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty army of the Gauls, wherewith he set forwards to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof Ptolomy being advertised, and having no desire to put himself in danger more than needed, took truce with Seleucus for ten years. No sooner was Seleucus freed from this care of the Egyptian war, but his brother Antiochus came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better army. So Seleucus was vanquished again, and saved himself, with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battle.

Thus did God's justice take revenge of those murders by which the crown was purchased, and settled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody king. Antiochus was glad to hear of his brother's death, as if thereby he had purchased his heart's desire. But the Gauls, his mercenaries, were gladder than he. For when he led them against Eumenes king of Pergamus, in hope to get honour by making a conquest in the beginning of his reign; these perfidious barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the royal house to make head against them, it would be in their power to do what should best be pleasing to themselves in the Lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on Antiochus, and enforced him to ransom himself with money, as if he had been their lawful prisoner. Neither were they so contented, but made him enter into such composition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the mean while Seleucus had gathered a new army, and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. Eumenes hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself to make his profit of their discord: Antiochus fought with him and was beaten, which is no great marvel, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the Gauls, his own soldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, Eumenes won much in Asia, whilst Antiochus went against his brother. In the second battle, fought between the brethren, Seleucus had the upper hand; and Antiochus Hierax, or *the hawk*, (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not,) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother and from his own Gauls. Having fetched a great compass through Mesopotamia and Armenia, he fell at length in Cappadocia, where his father-in-law king Artamenes took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward show, but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived, and therefore betook him to his wings again, though he knew not well which way to bend his flight. At

length he resolved to bestow himself upon Ptolomy, his own conscience telling him what evil he had meant unto Seleucus his brother, and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. Ptolomy well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison, whence though by means of an harlot he got out; yet flying from his keepers he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died Seleucus. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against Arsaces, founder of the Parthian kingdom, wherein his evil fortune, or rather God's vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. Arsaces dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment; but in returning home he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his most trusty captains, which was father unto that Achæus, who, making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he styled himself) a king, though rather indeed a great troubler of the world in those parts. By Laodice he had two sons, Seleucus the Third, surnamed Ceraunus, and Antiochus the Third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years, in which time he made war upon Attalus the First, that was king of Pergamus. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of war in good order; and finally he was slain by treason of Nicanor and Apaturius a Gaul. His death was revenged by Achæus, who slew the traitors, and took charge of the army, which he ruled very wisely and faithfully a while, Antiochus the brother of Seleucus being then a child.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the great Antiochus's reign. Of Ptolomy Euergetes and Philopater, kings of Egypt. War between Antiochus and Philopater. The rebellion of Molo, and expedition of Antiochus against him. The recontinuance of Antiochus's Egyptian war, with the passages between the two kings; the victory of Ptolomy, and peace concluded. Of Achæus, and his rebellion; his greatness and his fall. Antiochus's expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the kings reigning in India, after the death of the great Alexander.

ANTIOCHUS was scarcely fifteen years old when he began his reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his minority, he was wholly governed by one Hermias, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all virtue that he found in any of the king's faithful servants. This vile quality in a counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his lord, and finally unto himself, the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of Antiochus's reign, Ptolomy Euergetes, king of Egypt, died, and left his heir Ptolomy Philopater, a young boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembered. This was that Euergetes who relieved Aratus and the Achæans, who afterwards took part with Cleomenes, and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. He annexed unto his dominion the kingdom of Cyrene, by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of king Magas. He was the third of the Ptolomies, and the last good king of the race. The name of Euergetes, or *the doer of good*, was given him by the Egyptians, not so much for the great spoils which he brought home after his victories in Syria, as for that he recovered some of those images or idols which Cambyses, when he conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to have made war upon the Jews, for that Onias their high priest, out of mere covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of twenty talents; but he was pacified by the wisdom of Josephus, a Jew, unto whom afterwards he let in farm the tributes and customs,

that belonged unto him in those parts of Syria which he held. For Cœlesyria, with Palæstina, and all those parts of the country that lay nearest unto Egypt, were held by the Egyptian, either as having fallen to the share of Ptolomy the First, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slain in the battle at Ipsus, or as being won by this Euergetes, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of Seleucus Callinicus. The victories of this Euergetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the Ptolomies and the Seleucidæ, were all foretold by Daniel in the prophecy before cited, which is expounded by St. Jerom. This Ptolomy Euergetes reigned six and twenty years, and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto Jesus the son of Sirach's book, that he should have reigned a much longer time: for Siracides there saith, that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year, when Euergetes was king. It may therefore be, that either this king reigned long together with his father, or that those eight and thirty years were the years of Jesus's own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Jews did otherwise reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of Euergetes, Hermias the counsellor, and in a manner the protector of king Antiochus, incited his lord unto war against the Egyptian, for the recovery of Cœlesyria and the countries adjoining. This counsel was very unseasonably given, when Molo, the king's lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute lord of that rich country. Nevertheless Hermias, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the king's honour, to send forth against a rebellious captain other captains that were faithful, whilst he in person made war upon one that was like himself, a king. No man durst gainsay the resolution of Hermias, who therefore sent Xenœtas, an Achæan, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the rebel, whilst in the mean season an

army was preparing for the king's expedition into Cœlesyria. The king having marched from Apamea to Laodicea, and so over the deserts into the valley of Marsyas, between the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Ætolian, that served under Ptolomy. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect; and then came news, that Xenœtas, his captain, was destroyed with his whole army, and Molo thereby become lord of all the country as far as unto Babylon.

Xenœtas, whilst he was yet on his journey, and drew near to the river of Tigris, received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the enemy, that the followers of Molo were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their commander to bear arms against the king: this report was not altogether false, but Molo himself stood in some doubt, lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. Xenœtas therefore, making show as if he had prepared to pass the river by boats in face of his enemy, left in the night-time such as he thought meet to defend his camp, and with all the flower of his army went over Tigris, in a place ten miles lower than Molo's camp. Molo heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment; but hearing that Xenœtas could not so be stopped, he himself dislodged, and took his journey towards Media, leaving all his baggage behind him in his camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own soldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his enemy, the great folly of Xenœtas made his stratagem prosperous: for Xenœtas, having borne himself proudly before upon the countenance of Hermias, by whom he was advanced unto this charge, did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken camp; or rather he commanded them so to do by making proclamation, that they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself in

transporting the remainder of his army, which he had left on the other side of Tigris. But Molo went no further that day than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the king's men kept, he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning, whilst they were yet heavy with the wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So Xencetas, and a very few about him, died fighting in defence of the camp; the rest were slaughtered without making resistance, and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the camp on the other side of Tigris was easily taken by Molo, the captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory the rebel marched unto Seleucia, which he presently took; and, mastering within a little while the province of Babylonia, and all the country down to the Red sea, or bay of Persia, he hasted unto Susa, where at his first coming he won the city, but failing to take the castle, that was exceeding strong, returned back to Seleucia, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to Antiochus, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the vale of Marsyas, filled him with great sorrow, and his camp with trouble. He took counsel what to do in this needful case, and was well advised by Epigenes, the best man of war he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of Cœlesyria, and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste: yet was Epigenes dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of Hermias; who could not endure to hear good counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against Molo, the name and presence of the king was more available, than any odds which he had of the rebel in strength. Molo distrusted his own followers; and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the king's obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail

the king's camp in the night-time; but going in hand with this, he was discovered by some that fled over from him to the king. This caused him to return back to his camp; which, by some error, took alarm at his return, and was hardly quieted, when Antiochus appeared in sight. The king was thus forward in giving battle to Molo, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him: neither was he deceived in this his belief; for not a few men, or ensigns, but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite unto the king, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the king's person, and were ready to do him service against Molo. This was enough to have won the victory; but Molo shortened the work by killing himself, as did also divers of his friends, who, for fear of torments, prevented the hangman with their own swords.

After this victory, came joyful news that the queen Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, which was married unto Antiochus a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the king, and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the eastern part of his kingdom, he judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only to terrify the Barbarians, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his counsellor Hermias gave assent; not so much respecting the king's honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualty, then made he no doubt of becoming protector to the young prince, and thereby of lengthening his own government. Antiochus therefore went against Artabazanes, who reigned among the Atropatians; having the greatest part of his kingdom situate between the Caspian and Euxine sea. This barbarous king was very old and fearful, and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased Antiochus to lay upon him. So in this journey Antiochus got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a physician of his brake with him as concerning Hermias; informing him

truly how odious he was unto the people, and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the king's own life. Antiochus believed this, having long suspected the same Hermias; but not daring, for fear of him, to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed that he should be made away on the sudden; which was done; he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested: for howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive, yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to do them hurt, were as ready as the foremost to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him. Yea, his wife and children, lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, Achæus, (of whom we spake before,) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of those expeditions which he took in hand, was bold to set a diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a king. His purpose was to have invaded Syria; but the fame of Antiochus's returning thitherwards made him quit the enterprise, and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that Antiochus neither went against Achæus, nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traitorous purposes; but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the traitor; who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement desire to recover Cœlesyria, or what else he could of the dominions of Ptolomy Philopator in those parts. He began with Seleucia, a very strong city near unto the mouth of the river Orontes; which ere long

he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the captains that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus the Great, who founded it, gave the name of Antigonia; but Seleucus getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia, and Ptolomy Euergetes having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into Ptolomais. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness than from their virtue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. Theodotus the Ætolian, he that before had opposed himself to Antiochus, and defended Cœlesyria in the behalf of Ptolomy, was now grown sorry that he had used so much faith and diligence in service of an unthankful and luxurious prince. Wherefore, as a mercenary, he began to have regard unto his own profit; which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two kings, he offered to deliver up unto Antiochus the cities of Tyrus and Ptolomais. Whilst he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king Antiochus, his practice was detected, and he besieged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolomy's captains, that was more faithful than himself. But Antiochus, hastening to his rescue, vanquished this captain, who met him on the way, and afterwards got possession, not only of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleet of the Egyptian king's that was in those havens, but of so many other towns in that country, as emboldened him to think upon making a journey into Egypt itself. Agathocles and Sosibius bore all the sway in Egypt at that time, Ptolomy himself being loath to have his pleasures interrupted with business of so small importance as the safety of his kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war; and nevertheless, at the same time, to press Antiochus with daily ambassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business ambassadors from Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus, as likewise

from the Ætolians; according to the usual courtesy of the Greeks, desiring to take up the quarrel. These were all entertained in Memphis by Agathocles and Sosibius, who entreated them to deal effectually with Antiochus. But whilst this treatise lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the war; wherein these two counsellors persuaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own, if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the Greeks to take their parts. Antiochus heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the governors of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of Ptolomy, but because the Rhodians, and other ambassadors coming from Memphis, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of Agathocles and his fellow. Antiochus therefore having wearied himself at the long siege of a town called Dura, which he could not win, and being desirous to refresh himself and his army in Seleucia, during the winter which then came on, granted unto the Egyptian a truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous as he would fain have seemed; but only to lull his enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself, and to bring Achæus to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would have used, he used himself; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since Ptolomy provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave audience to the ambassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt; pleasing himself well to dispute about the justice of his quarrel, which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between Seleucus his ancestor and Ptolomy the son of Lagi, that all Syria, if they could win it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Seleucus;

and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by general consent of all the confederates, after the battle at Ipsus. But Ptolomy's men would acknowledge no such bargain: they said, that Ptolomy the son of Lagi had won Cœlesyria, and the provinces adjoining, for himself; as also, that he had sufficiently gratified Seleucus, by lending him forces to recover his province of Babylon, and the countries about the river of Euphrates. Thus, whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace, they were, in the end of their disputation, as far from concluding as at the beginning. Ptolomy demanded restitution; Antiochus thought that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: also Ptolomy would needs have Achæus comprehended in the league between them, as one of their confederates; but Antiochus would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one king should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and seek to join him in confederacy with his own sovereign lord. When the truce was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take the field again, contrary to his expectation he was informed, that Ptolomy, with a very puissant army, was coming up against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the enemy, he was encountered on the way by those captains of Ptolomy that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence nevertheless he drave them; and, proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation, and thereby drew the Arabians, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two kings drew near together, many captains of Ptolomy forsook his pay, and fled over to Antiochus. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at Raphia; where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Asiatics were the better soldiers, (for that the strength of both armies consisted in mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, Thracians, and Gauls,) but whether of the kings was the more fortunate. Ptolomy, with Arsinoe his sister and wife, rode up and down, encou-

raging his men; the like did Antiochus on the other side; each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of their ancestors, as not having of their own whereby to value themselves. Antiochus had the more elephants; as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of Afric. Wherefore, by the advantage of these beasts, he drave the enemies before him, in that part of the battle wherein he fought himself. But Ptolomy had the better men, by whose valour he brake the gross of his enemy's battle, and won the victory, whilst Antiochus was heedlessly following upon those whom he had compelled to retire. Antiochus had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot and six thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse, yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch, he began to stand in fear, lest Ptolomy and Achæus, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole estate. This caused him to send ambassadors unto the Egyptian to treat of peace; which was readily granted, it being much against the nature of Ptolomy to vex himself thus with the tedious business of war. So Ptolomy, having stayed three months in Syria, returned home into Egypt clad with the reputation of a conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league between these two kings; or if he had been included therein, yet would not the Egyptian have taken the pains of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with Antiochus. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto Antiochus on this side of Taurus, he had also good success against Attalus king of Pergamus, that was an able man of war, and commanded a strong army. Neither was he, as Molo the rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and car-

ried beyond himself by apprehending the vantage of some opportunity; but cousin-german to the king, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the king's brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same Mithridates king of Pontus, which was also called Laodice, as was her sister the queen, Antiochus's wife. These things had added majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that king Ptolomy of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend, and that king Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battle at Raphia, and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the king of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrel between his sons-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian, he was not only slothful, but hindered by a rebellion of his own subjects from helping his friends abroad: for the people of Egypt, of whom Ptolomy, contrary to the manner of his progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition, began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferior to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done, since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the king's mercenary Greeks, which had hitherto kept them in strait subjection. Thus brake out a war between that king and his subjects, wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken, yet king Ptolomy thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling, or, as others thought, in succouring Achæus. As for Antiochus, he had no sooner made his peace with the Egyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against Achæus. To this purpose he entered into league with Attalus, that so he might distract the forces of his rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up Achæus into the city of Sardes, where

he held him about two years besieged. The city was very strong and well victualled, so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first year's siege. In the end, one Lagoras, a Cretan, found means how to enter the town. The castle itself was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the town-wall adjoining to the castle, in that part which was called *the sawe*, was in like manner situated upon steep rocks, and hardly accessible, that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carcasses of horses and other beasts, yea and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by Lagoras, that the ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food, which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king, who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of such men as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which Lagoras had afore conceived; and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilst a general assault was made) entered the town in that part, which was, at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the Persians under Cyrus gotten into Sardes, when Crœsus thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens took not warning by the example of a loss many ages past, and therefore out of memory. Achæus held still the castle, which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number of such as were to him well assured. Antiochus therefore was constrained to waste much time about it, having none other hope to prevail, than by famishing the enclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Bactrians and Parthians, with the

Hyrcanians, had erected kingdoms taken out of his dominions, upon which they still encroached: but he thought it not safe to let Achæus break loose again. On the other side, there were some agents of Ptolomy the Egyptian, and good friends unto Achæus, that made it their whole study how to deliver this besieged prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more; but presumed, that when he should appear in the countries under Taurus, he would soon have an army at command, and be strong enough to hold Antiochus as hardly to work, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis, a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those rocks whereon the castle of Sardes stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of Ptolomy, as well as of Achæus, to do his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the business, and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto Achæus by one Arianus, a trusty messenger, whom Bolis found means to convey into the castle. The faith of these negotiators Achæus held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privy characters, or ciphers, wherewith none, save he and they, were acquainted, whereby he knew that it was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom Achæus found, by examination, heartily affected unto the side. But the contents of the epistle, which were, that he should be confident in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus, whom Bolis had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown, and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus, under whom he had the command of those Cretans which held one of the forts that blocked up the castle of Sardes. Nevertheless, other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, that Bolis himself should come speak with Achæus, and conduct him forth. There was

none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by Bolis and Cambylus, which were Cretans, and (as all their countrymen, [c] some few excepted, have been, and still are) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as [d] Polybius observes it, rightly Cretical; neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith, but only how to get most, with least ado and danger to themselves. Briefly, they concluded, that first of all they would equally share between them ten talents, which they had already received in hand; and then, that they would reveal the matter to Antiochus, offering to deliver Achæus unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be despatched. Antiochus hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no less glad, than were the friends of Achæus well pleased with the comfortable promises of Bolis. At length, when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that Bolis with Arianus was to get up into the castle, and convey Achæus thence, he first went with Cambylus to speak with the king, who gave him very private audience, and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto Ptolomy, whom he had long served, he accompanied Arianus up into the castle. At his coming thither he was lovingly entertained, yet questioned at large by Achæus, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity, that there appeared no reason of distrusting

[c] Among these few I do not except one, calling himself Eudæmon John Andrew, a Cretan; who in one of his late shameless libels, wherein he traduceth our king, religion, and country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath, by inserting my name, twice belied me, in calling me a puritan; and one that has been dangerous unto my sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of treasons, and architect of lies; in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of criticism no less voluminous, than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Cretians in elder times, that *were always liars, evil beasts, and slow bellies.*

[d] E Polyb. Hist. l. 8.

either his faith or judgment. He was an old soldier, had long been a captain under Ptolomy, and did not thrust himself into this business, but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course in winning (as it seemed) that other countryman of his, who kept a fort that stood in their way, and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto Arianus. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. Achæus therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the castle a little longer, but that he meant to send away with Bolis three or four of his friends, from whom when he received better advertisement concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But, as Polybius well notes, he did not consider that he played the Cretian with a man of Crete; which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambylus had laid their plot thus: that if Achæus came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him; if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should Arianus be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and Bolis following behind, should have an eye upon Achæus, to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself; to the end that, being taken alive, he might be to Antiochus the more welcome present. And in such order came they now forth, Arianus going before as guide, the rest following, as the way served, and Bolis in the rear. Achæus made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife Laodice, and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his especial friends to bear him company. They were all disguised, and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the Greek tongue, speaking and answering, as need should require, for all, as

if the rest had been Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For, saith Polybius, "though he were of Crete, and prone to "surmise any thing to the mischief of another," yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was Achæus, or whether Achæus himself were there. The way was very uneasy, and in some places dangerous, especially to those who knew it not: wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious toward Achæus, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave Bolis to understand that he was the man; and so by their unseasonable duty they undid their lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus lay in wait, Bolis whistled, and presently clasped Achæus about the middle, holding him fast, that he should not stir. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to Antiochus, who sat up watching in his pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of Achæus, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the king, that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration; as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned Achæus to a cruel death; which argues that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears; as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder; though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischievous knaves against one traitor, doth not rarely succeed well, according to that Spanish proverb, *A un traydor dos alleuosos*. The death of Achæus brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the king, whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the Lesser Asia.

Some years passed after this, ere Antiochus was ready for

his expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for provinces after the death of Alexander, the government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to Eumenes, then to Antigonus, and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleucus, under whose posterity they continued until the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, being ruled by lieutenants of the Syrian kings. The lustful insolency of one of these lieutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished, and thought to be slain by the Gauls, did stir up Arsaces, a nobleman of the country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebel. So he slew the king's lieutenant, made himself king of the Parthians, and lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took Seleucus Callinicus prisoner in battle, whom he royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful king, and by good government of his country procured unto himself such love of his subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors, like as that of the Ptolomies in Egypt, and that of the Cæsars afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time, the Bactrians rebelled; though these at length, and all belonging unto the Seleucidæ beyond Euphrates, increased the Parthians dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in plain field, but kept themselves in woods, or places of strength, and defended the straits and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not: for Antiochus had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way from those that lay fortified against him in woods and straits between their mountains, it being easy to spare out of so great a number, as many as, fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies' heads, or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature, wherewith he caused them

to dislodge, and give way unto his phalanx, upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. Arsaces, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this,) was then king of Parthia, who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects, yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad ways and deserts would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Ecbatane in Media, to give over the journey without proceeding much further. This not so falling out, he caused the wells and springs in the wilderness, through which his enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, he withdrew himself out of the way, suffering the enemy to take his pleasure for a time in wasting the country, wherein, without some victory obtained, he could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found, that Arsaces was nothing strongly provided for the war: wherefore he marched through the heart of Parthia, and then forward into Hyrcania, where he won Tambrace, the chief city of that province. This indignity, and many other losses, caused Arsaces at length, when he had gathered an army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battle. The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the kings hope of accomplishing his desires without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore Arsaces craved peace, and at length obtained it, Antiochus thinking it not amiss to make him a friend whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of Antiochus was against Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians, one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his ancestors, but, having gotten the kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himself. With Euthydemus he fought a battle by the river Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously than did any one man in all his army: his horse was slain under him, and he himself received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost

some of his teeth. As for Euthydemus, he withdrew himself back into the further parts of his kingdom, and afterwards protracted the war, seeking how to end it by composition. So ambassadors passed between the kings; Antiochus complaining, that a country of his was unjustly usurped from him; Euthydemus answering, that he had won it from the children of the usurpers; and further, that the Bactrians, a wild nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a king of their own, for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified Antiochus, and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable conditions. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father as ambassador in this treaty of peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion. For Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage one of his own daughters, and therewithal permitted Euthydemus to retain the kingdom, causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his elephants; as also to bind himself by oath to such covenants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus, leaving the Bactrian in quiet, made a journey over Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians, the society that had been between their ancestors. The Indians had remained subject unto the Macedonians, for a little while, after Alexander's death. Eumenes, in his war against Antigonus, raised part of his forces out of their country. But when Antigonus, after his victory, turned westward, and was overbusied in a great civil war, then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stir up his countrymen to rebellion, making himself their captain, and taking upon him as protector of their liberty. This office and title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the name and majesty of a king. Finally he got unto himself, (having an army of six hundred thousand men,) if not all India, yet as much of it as had been Alexander's. In this estate

he had well confirmed himself, ere Seleucus Nicator could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself, at the coming of Seleucus, but met him in field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty elephants. This league, made by the founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by Antiochus, whose number of elephants were increased thereupon by the Indian king to an hundred and fifty; as also he was promised to have some treasure sent after him, which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians from this time forwards, in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the western countries. The posterity of Sandrocottus is thought to have retained that kingdom unto the days of Augustus Cæsar, to whom Porus, then reigning in India, sent ambassadors with presents, and an epistle written in Greek; wherein, among other things, he said, that he had command over six hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom in divers ages, even unto the time of Constantine the Great, being all peradventure of the same race. But Antiochus, who in this treaty with Sophagasenus carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents, and after marched home through Drangiana and Carmania with such reputation, that all the potentates, not only in the higher Asia, but on the hither side of Taurus, humbled themselves unto him, and called him the Great, saw an end of his own greatness within few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the Romans, whose greatness was the same in deed, that his was only in seeming.

SECT. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomy Philopator in Egypt; with the tragical end of his favourites when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolomy Epiphanes, the son of Philopator. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage toward the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly show to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings about the Hellespont, which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

THIS expedition being finished, Antiochus had leisure to repose himself a while, and study which way to convert the terror of his puissance for the enlargement of his empire. Within two or three years Ptolomy Philopator died, leaving his son Ptolomy Epiphanes, a young boy, his successor in the kingdom; unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This Ptolomy, surnamed Philopator, that is to say, "a lover of his father," is thought to have had that surname given him in mere derision, as having made away both his father and mother[e]. His young years, being newly past his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime as his father's death; yet the beastliness of all his following life makes him not unlike to have done any mischief whereof he could be accused. Having won the battle at Raphia, he gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a strumpet called Agathoclea. At her instigation he murdered his own wife and sister, which had adventured herself with him in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with [illegible]. The lieutenantships of his provinces, with all commands in his army and offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this Agathoclea, and her brother Agathocles, and of Œnanthe, a filthy bawd, that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the country, till Philopator died; who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than Ptolomy Epiphanes, a child of five years old, begotten on

[e] Justin. l. 30.

Arsinoe that was his sister and wife. After the king's death, Agathocles began to take upon him, as protector of young Epiphanes, and governor of the land. He assembled the Macedons, (which were the king's ordinary forces in pay, not all born in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolomy the First, and would not be accounted Egyptians, as neither would the kings themselves,) and bringing forth unto them his sister Agathoclea, with the young king in her arms, began a solemn oration. He told them, that the deceased father of this their king had committed the child into the arms of his sister, but unto the faith of them on whose valiant right hands the whole state of the kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their king against the treason of one Tlepolemus, an ambitious man, who traitorously went about to set the diadem upon his own head, being a mere stranger to the royal blood. Herewithal he produced before them a witness, that should justify his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a feigned passion of sorrow and counterfeiting of tears, yet the Macedons that heard him regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the assembly; he that had called it being scarce aware how. Agathocles, therefore, whom the old king's favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as formerly been his manner, by using his authority to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a temple the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus, and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old king's name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceived extreme hate against these three pernicious misgovernors of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to Tle-

polemus, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which, in way of requital, Tlepolemus was likely to do unto the city. For he was, though a man most unapt for government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad soldier, and well-beloved of the army. It was also then in his power to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which Agathocles used, were the Macedons more hastily and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor soldier was carried into an inner room of the palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel, to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of Agathocles a sad report of Tlepolemus's being at hand. Hereupon the examiner, and his torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving Moeragenes the soldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveyed himself out of the palace, and got unto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their privileges as are the Turk's janizaries. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to arms in a great rage, and began to force the palace; crying out, that they would see the king, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the city, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the soldiers, though to less effect. So the old bawd Œnanthe fled into a temple: her son and daughter stayed in the court, until the king was taken from them, and they, by his permission, which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. Agathocles himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends, though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked up and down the

streets, as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice, biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt served well to stir up king Antiochus, who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young Ptolomy. Philip of Macedon had the same desire to get what part he could of the child's estate. But it happened well, that Ptolomy Philopator, in the Punic war, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the Romans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved help against these two kings; who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entered into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this orphan, whose father had been confederate with them both. So [f]M. Lepidus was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the king of Egypt, especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian, he was very soon found busied with war at his own doors: also Scopas the Ætolian, being a pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece, to raise an army of mercenaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I do not find; and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three ambassadors [g], in the beginning of the war with Philip, as hath been shewed before. As for Scopas, he shortly after went up into Syria with his army; where winning many places, among the rest of his acts he subdued the Jews, who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto Antiochus, at such time as they saw him prepare for his war, and despaired of receiving help from Egypt [h]. But it was not long ere all these victories of Scopas came to nothing; for the very next year following, which was (according to Eusebius) the same year that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephalæ, Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battle, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the Jews with great willingness re-

[f] Justin. l. 30. [g] Livy, l. 31. [h] Vid. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 12. c. 3.

turned under his obedience, and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The land of Egypt this great king did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his own in marriage upon Ptolomy; either hoping, as may seem, that the country would willingly submit itself unto him, if this young child should happen to miscarry, or else that greater purchase might be made in the western parts of Asia, whilst Philip was held overlaboured by the Romans. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two hares at once with one hound. The quarrels between Attalus, Philip, and the Greeks, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his army to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being such as hath been declared, seemed easy to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in Syria; where all were willing (and the Jews among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yield him obedience: another while, letting Egypt alone, he was about to make invasion upon Attalus's kingdom; yet suffered himself easily to be persuaded by the Roman ambassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the Romans, he sends ambassadors to the senate, to conclude a perfect amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be overpassed, that these his ambassadors were lovingly entertained at Rome, and dismissed with a decree and answer of the senate altogether to the honour of king Antiochus. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the king's good liking, than of their own intent. They had not as yet made an end with Philip, neither would they gladly be troubled with two great wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time Antiochus fights with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to win some towns elsewhere, belonging unto Ptolomy; yet withal he sends an army westward, in-

tending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how, notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their kingdoms, he offered one of his daughters to Ptolomy, and another to Eumenes the son of Attalus, newly king of Pergamus; seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once, being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great and overswelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an army to Sardes by land, under two of his own sons; willing them there to stay for him, whilst he himself with a fleet of an hundred galleys, and two hundred other vessels, intended to pass along by the coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable act of the Rhodians, that, whilst the war of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great Antiochus. They sent unto him a proud embassage; whereby they gave him to understand, that if he passed forward beyond a certain promontory in Cilicia, they would meet him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him, but because he should not join with Philip their enemy, and help him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the king; yet he tempered himself, and, without any show of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their ambassadors, partly unto their whole city, by ambassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient confederacies between his ancestors and them; and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them or of their confederates. As touching the Romans, whom they thought that he would molest, they were, he said, his very good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his ambassadors.

The Rhodians appear to have been a cunning people,

and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the king, and the relation of what had passed between his ambassadors and the senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed, shortly after, that the Macedonian war was ended at the battle of Cynoscephalæ. They knew that Antiochus's turn would be next, and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, unless the towns on the south coast of Asia, belonging to Ptolomy their friend and confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well, for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the race of the Ptolomies. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could unto all the subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did king Eumenes, the son of Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed between Antiochus and the Romans. For when king Antiochus made a friendly offer to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage, he excused himself, and would not have her. Attalus and Philetærus, his brethren, wondered at this: but he told them, that the Romans would surely make war upon Antiochus, and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, that by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to join with the Romans, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to Antiochus, as he must be partaker in his overthrow, so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an overmighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himself wintered about Ephesus, where he took such order as he thought convenient for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampsacus to obedience, that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the spring he sailed unto the Hellespont; where having won some towns that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Europe side, and in short space mastered the Chersonesus. Thence went he to Lysimachia, which the Thracians had gotten and destroyed, when Philip withdrew

his garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman war. The Ætolians objected as a crime unto Philip, in the conference before T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lysimachia, by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereunto Philip made answer, that his garrison did not oppress the town, but save it from the Barbarians, who took and sacked it as soon as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good and substantial, though it were not accepted as such, might appear by the miserable case in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his coming thither: for the town was utterly razed by the Barbarians, and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the king took order to have it reedified, as also to redeem those that were in bondage, and to recollect as many of the citizens as were dispersed in the country thereabout. Likewise he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish the city with the wonted frequency. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour Thracians, he took a journey in hand against those barbarous people with the one half of his army, leaving the other half to repair the city. These pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient situation and former glory of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour to recover and establish the dominion in those parts which his forefather Seleucus Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay; and, as after that victory against Lysimachus, the death of king Seleucus followed shortly, so shall a deadly wound of the kingdom founded by Seleucus ensue very speedily after the reconquest of the same country, which was the last of Seleucus's purchases.

SECT. IV.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus during their war with Philip, after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage, whence he is chased by his enemies and by the Romans: his flight unto the king Antiochus. The Ætolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achæans with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius's triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

FOR the Romans, though they were unable to smother their desire of war with Antiochus, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies; yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel, whereof they were furnished by this enterprise of the kings about Lysimachia. It was not long since king Attalus, a friend and helper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antiochus, than ambassadors to speak for him; because the one of these kings was held no less a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices than very friendly. Antiochus, at the request of their ambassadors, withdrew his invasion from the kingdom of Pergamus; also very shortly after he sent ambassadors to them, to make a perfect league of amity between them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with Philip; and therefore had reason to answer his good-will with good acceptation, as they did in outward show. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all, the states in Greece were become little better than clients unto the Romans, then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning; for T. Quintius, with his ten counsellors sent from Rome, requited (as hath been [i] shewed before) with a commination of war this king's gratulation of their victory, as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

[i] Ch. 4. §. ult.

These ten counsellors were able to inform T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the purpose of the senate; whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of Antiochus, he was the more inclinable unto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late decree, that two of them should visit king Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the senate at Rome unmindful of the business; wherein lest T. Quintius, with his ten assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging, L. Cornelius was sent from Rome of purpose to deal with the king about those controversies that were between him and Ptolomy. What other private instructions Cornelius had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his embassage: for coming to Selymbria, and there understanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having been sent by Titus, were at Lysimachia, he hastened thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten counsellors) from Bargillæ, to be present at the conference. Hegesianax and Lysias were also there; the same who had lately brought from Titus those peremptory conditions, which the ambassadors present shall expound unto their master. After a few days Antiochus returned from his Thracian expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these Romans was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand, this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome; which was, that Antiochus had reason to deliver back unto Ptolomy those towns of his whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, that he must also give up the towns of late belonging unto Philip, and by him newly occupied: for what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let Antiochus enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further, he warned the king, that he should not molest

those cities that were free; and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an army into Europe; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the Romans. To this the king made answer, that he wondered why the Romans should so trouble themselves with thinking upon the matters of Asia: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone; even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in Italy what they thought good. As for his coming over into Europe, they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely, the war against the barbarous Thracians, the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recovery of towns to him belonging in Thrace and Chersonesus. Now concerning his title unto that country, he derived it from Seleucus, who made conquest thereof, by his victory against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places, in controversy between him and the other kings, had been still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his ancestors, being lords of those countries, were hindered by multiplicity of business from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this city upon one of his sons, that should reign therein; nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in Asia, either against the free cities, or against the king of Egypt, since it was his meaning to make the free cities beholding unto himself, and to join ere long with Ptolomy, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. Cornelius having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further what the ambassadors of Smyrna and of Lampsacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The ambassadors of Lampsacus being called in, began a tale, wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the Romans, as it were before competent judges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; forasmuch

as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the citizens of Rhodes to be arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the treaty held some few days without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laid their complaints in such sort as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended, nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous Gallo-Greeks, pretend only the goodness of their swords, nor yet overmodestly, to retain among the Greeks an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The king, on the other side, was weary of these tedious guests, that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, that Ptolomy was dead. Hereof neither the king nor the Romans would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt; Antiochus, to take possession of the kingdom; and L. Cornelius, to prevent him thereof, and set the country in good order. Cornelius was sent from Rome ambassador, both to Antiochus and to Ptolomy; which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both he and his fellow ambassadors had good leave to depart all together; and the king forthwith made ready to be in Egypt with the first. To his son Seleucus he committed his army, and left him to oversee the building of Lysimachia; but all his sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto Ephesus. Thence he sent ambassadors to T. Quintius, whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace after such sort, as might stand with honesty and good faith. But, as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that Ptolomy was alive. This made him bear another way from Egypt; and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwreck, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his port of Seleu-

cia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintered; secure, as might appear, of the Roman war.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the treaty at Lysimachia, (at leastwise not long before or after it,) one of their ambassadors, that had been sent unto the Macedonian, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good, not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the Romans, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the war brake out with Antiochus, lest otherwise he might seem to have awaited some fit occasion of taking arms again. They who dealt thus plainly did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the Greeks were solicited; and particularly the Ætolians, that constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended; the froward answer made by the Ætolians declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the victory as they had been during the war: they that so complained were the most moderate of them: others cried out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them; upbraiding withal the Romans, as men to them beholding, not only for their victory over Philip, but even for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they never could have done. Hereto the Roman gave gentle answers; telling them that there was no more to do than to send ambassadors to the senate, and utter their griefs, and then should all be well.

Such care took the Romans in Greece for their war intended against Antiochus. The fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave matter unto the enemies of Hannibal, wherewith both to pick a thank of the Roman senate, and to chase out of their city this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against

them in the civil administration, and given them an overthrow or two in the long robe. The judges at that time bore all the sway in Carthage, holding their places during life, and having subject unto them the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation, but conspired in such wise together, that whoso offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once known, he was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the city, Hannibal was chosen pretor; by virtue of which office though he was superior unto them during that year, yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual magistrate, as at the year's end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. Hannibal therefore sending for one of the questors, or officers of the treasury, to come and speak with him, the proud questor set lightly thereby, and would not come; for he was of the adverse faction to Hannibal; and men of his place were to be chosen into the order of judges; in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of his future greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame pretor as were they that had occupied the place before. Hannibal sent for him by a pursuivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgment before a public assembly of the people. There he not only shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of this questor had been, but how unsufferable the insolency of all the judges at the present was, whose unbridled power made them to regard neither laws nor magistrates. To this oration when he perceived that all the citizens were attentive and favourable, he forthwith propounded a law, which passed with the general good liking, that the judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that office two years together. If this law had been passed before he passed over Iberus, it would not perhaps have been in the power of Hanno to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance concerning the Roman tribute. This tribute the Carthaginians were fain to levy by taxa-

tion laid upon the whole commonalty, as wanting money in their public treasury, wherewith to defray either that or divers other needful charges. Hannibal considering this, began to examine the public revenues, and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the treasury, by ways and means whatsoever, and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, that the ordinary charges of the commonwealth did not exhaust the treasury; but that wicked magistrates, and corrupt officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, that these robbers of the common treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery; and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own estate. But as the virtue of Hannibal was highly commended by all that were good citizens, so they of the Roman faction, which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely, as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at Rome; wherein they complained, as if the Barchine faction grew strong again, and Hannibal would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the city by injustice, and robbing the treasury, were the only way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome, these enemies to the Barchines might well cry out, that having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of war. But having none other matter to allege than their own inventions, they said, that Hannibal was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; that secret messages passed between him and king Antiochus; and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to Carthage, with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the senate; but addressing their letters

craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at Rome, and such as were senators, they wrought so well, that neither public notice of their conspiracy was taken at Carthage, nor the authority of the Roman senate wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only P. Scipio is said to have admonished the fathers, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of Hannibal, as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as Scipio; they wished for some such advantage against Hannibal and were glad to have found it. Three ambassadors they sent over to Carthage, C. Servilius, Q. Terentius, and M. Claudius Marcellus, whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These having passed the sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, that they were sent to end some controversies between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. But Hannibal had kept such good espial upon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough, against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, that he escaped them by flight; but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of assembly, he went forth of the town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination, though such as he might well trust. He had appointed horses to be in a readiness at a certain place; whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needful, as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade Afric farewell, lamenting the misfortune of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of Cercina, he found there in the haven some merchant ships of Carthage. They saluted

him respectively; and the chief among them began to inquire whither he was bound. He said, he went ambassador to Tyre; and that he intended there in the island to make a sacrifice, whereunto he invited all the merchants and masters of the ships. It was hot weather; and therefore he would needs hold his feast upon the shore, where, because there wanted covert, he made them bring thither all their sails and yards, to be used instead of tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night; at which time he left them there asleep; and putting to sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued: for the merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone ambassador; neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from Cercina, being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the miss of so great a person was diversely construed: some guessed aright, that he was fled; but the more common opinion was, that the Romans had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen; and then the Roman ambassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their senate, missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the mother-city of Carthage, was there entertained royally, as one in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity between their cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to Antioch, and finding the king departed, visited his son in Daphne; who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his father at Ephesus, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As Antiochus had cause to be glad in that he had gotten Hannibal, so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorry, otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing

him thus out of his country. For it would not prove alike easy unto this great commander, to make stout soldiers of base Asiatics, as it had been, by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of war of the Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and other nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one man's worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people; yet was it therewithal considerable, that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his court, the baseness of his flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the virtue of Hannibal, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villainy of Hanno and his complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this great Carthaginian would only help to ennoble the Roman victory; or if it further served to hearten Antiochus, and make him less careful to avoid the war, then should it further serve to justify the Romans in their quarrel. And it seems, indeed, that it was no little part of their care to get a fair pretence of making war. For Antiochus, as is said before, having newly sent ambassadors to T. Quintius, requiring that the peace might faithfully be kept, it was not probable that he had any meaning to take arms, unless by mere violence he were thereto enforced. Only the Ætolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this great king; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them, they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten counsellors, that the senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask. But this promise was too large and unadvised. For when their ambassadors came to Rome, the senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to T. Quintius, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves, otherwise than by speaking such

words as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at Rome was of war with Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the country. For the Ætolians were wont to upbraid the rest of the Greeks, with the vain liberty which the Romans had proclaimed; saying, that these their deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them than formerly they did wear, but yet brighter and fairer than those of the Macedonian: likewise, that it was a gracious act of Titus, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chain, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For Philip had made no delay in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the towns of Greece were at liberty, and the whole country at peace, both with the Romans and within itself. As for Antiochus, he made it his daily suit, that the peace between him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed and strengthened by a league of more assurance. Nevertheless, T. Quintius would needs fear that Antiochus meant forthwith to seize upon Greece, as soon as he and his army were thence departed. And in this regard he retained still in his own hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus; by benefit of which towns he might the better withstand the dangerous invasion like to be made by Antiochus. Suitable unto the doings of Quintius were the reports of the ten ambassadors, that had been sent over to assist him, when they returned back into the city. Antiochus, they said, would questionless fall upon Greece; wherein he should find, not only the Ætolians, but Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies, especially against Nabis, who could worst make resistance; whilst Antiochus was far away in Syria, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the city, among the vulgar, but found such credit with the chief of the senate, that in

the following year, against which time it was expected that Antiochus should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand, P. Cornelius Scipio, the African, desired and obtained a second consulship, with intention to be general in the war against the king and his Hannibal. For the present, the business with Nabis was referred unto Titus, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment; whereof also he knew that many of the Greeks would not be sorry, though for his own part he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entered into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had war with Philip; and had further been contented for the Romans' sake to be at peace with the Achæans; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this war. He was indeed a detestable tyrant, and hated of the Achæans; as one that, besides his own wicked conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. Titus therefore had a plausible theme, whereon to discourse before the embassages of all the confederate cities; which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, that in the war with Philip, not only the Greeks, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart, (which he there briefly rehearsed,) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning Nabis, the Romans had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty; which noble action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble city of Argos was left in subjection to a tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the Greeks, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of Argos a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwise, to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans; who, in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greeks themselves.

The Athenian ambassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the Romans for what was past, extolled their virtues at large, and magnified them highly in regard of this their proposition; wherein unrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which, at the vehement request of their poor associates, they had already of late extended unto the Greeks. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such notable virtues and high deserts ill spoken of by some, which took upon them, out of their own imaginations, to foretell what harm these their benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as thankfulness rather would have required an acknowledgment of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the Ætolians. Wherefore Alexander the Ætolian rose up, and told the Athenians their own; putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their city had been the leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the liberty general; from which honour they were now so far fallen, that they became parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty, and by their base assentation would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the Achæans, clients that had been a long time unto the Macedonian, and soldiers of Philip, until they ran away from his adversity: These, he said, had gotten Corinth, and must now have war be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also be lords of Argos; whereas the Ætolians, that had first made war with Philip, and always been friends unto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the Romans fraudulent dealing; forasmuch as they kept their garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth, having been always wont to profess, that Greece could never be at liberty whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of war with Nabis, than businesses wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer

in the country? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their legions home out of Greece; which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for Nabis, the Ætolians themselves did promise, and would undertake, that they would either cause him to yield to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his garrison; or else compel him by force of arms to submit himself to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these Ætolians, as did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole dominion in Greece, which Philip had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, that the old league was forgotten; wherein it had been covenanted, that the Romans should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the towns and lands in possession of the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the Achæans, cry out upon them; entreating the Romans to take such order before they went, that not only Nabis might be compelled to do right, but the Ætolian thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of Titus; who saw that, by discountenancing the Ætolians, he was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that Antiochus's ambassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer; telling them, that the ten ambassadors, or counsellors, which had been sent unto him from Rome to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedæmonian war, it was very soon ended. For Titus used the help of all his confederates; and made as great preparation against Nabis, both by land and

sea, as if he should have had to do with Philip. Besides the Roman forces, king Eumenes with a navy, and the Rhodian fleet, were invited to the service, as also Philip of Macedon sent aid by land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number in seeking revenge upon Nabis, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this expedition were the Achæans, who set out ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. As for the Ætolians, rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their help was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achæans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece, having removed the Ætolians from that degree of favour, like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted by the same Lacedæmonians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argives, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the Lacedæmonians that held their town, meaning to open their gates unto the Roman: but ere Titus drew near, they were all detected and slain, excepting a very few that escaped out of the town. The fame of this commotion caused the army to march apace toward Argos, with hope to be there before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the walls; the execution done upon the first movers having terrified all the rest of the citizens. Titus then thought it better to assail Nabis in the head of his strength at Lacedæmon, than to consume time about other places, especially at Argos, for the freedom whereof since the war was made, pity it were that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these invaders. Five thousand of them were mercenaries, the rest of his own country, but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors, and base peasants, unto whom his tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win

their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and compassing them round with his army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves, they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions to raise tumults and work dangerous treason, it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course, to arrest beforehand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce, and thereby preserve, not only the city and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them, whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad, what could it else do than terrify the people, who must thereby understand that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended itself unto some poor wretches, whom he accused of a meaning to fly to the enemy. These were openly whipped through all the streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the citizens, he turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sally, wherein, as commonly happens, the soldiers of the town had the better at first, but were at length repelled with loss. Titus abode not many days before Sparta, but overran the country, hoping belike to provoke the tyrant forth to battle. The Roman fleet at the same time, with king Eumenes and the Rhodians, laid siege unto Gyttheum, the only or principal haven-town that Nabis had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two governors within the town equal in authority, whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans: but the other, finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, slew the traitor;

after whose death he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when T. Quintius, with part of his army, came thither to Gyttheum, this captain of the town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either time or his master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon condition to depart in safety to Sparta with his garrison. Pythagoras, the son-in-law of Nabis, and brother unto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the government with a thousand soldiers, mercenaries, and two thousand Argives; it being (as may seem) the tyrant's purpose to relieve Gyttheum, which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to think upon finishing the war by some reasonable composition. Pythagoras therefore was sent ambassador to Titus, requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for Nabis to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that parley the tyrant spake very reasonably for himself, proving that he suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments, whereof the sum was, that whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the league which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, that neither for his keeping the town of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleged, they ought to make war upon him, since Argos, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that league with him, which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith satisfied: he charged him with tyranny, and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this Nabis to be guilty before they made peace and confederacy with him, it was expedient that some other cause of this invasion should be alleged. Wherefore he said further, that this tyrant had occupied Messene, a town confederate with the Romans; that he had bargained to join with Philip, when he was their enemy, not only in league, but also in affinity; and that his fleet had robbed

many of their ships about the cape of Malea. Now touching this piracy, since in the articles by Titus propounded unto Nabis there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with whom he had long held war; it may seem to have been objected only by way of compliment, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for Messène, and the bargain of alliance made with Philip, they were matters foregoing the league that was made between the Romans and this tyrant, and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that Aristænus, the pretor of the Achæans, very well perceived; who therefore doubting lest the Romans (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithful dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their confederate, and had never done them wrong, framed his discourse to another end. He entreated Nabis to consider well of his own estate, and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard; alleging the examples of many tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour cities, and therein committed great outrages, yet were afterwards contented to surrender their estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Argos, and requested them to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that in regard of the charges, whereat the confederates must be, for maintenance of an army to lay in leaguer all that winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the city of Sparta, they were contented to make peace with the tyrant, upon such conditions as Titus should think meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending, Titus propounded many other conditions to Nabis, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the Lacedæmonian to have ought to do in the isle of Crete, no, nor to make any confederacies, nor war, either in that island or elsewhere; not

to build any town or castle upon his own lands; not to keep any other shipping, than two small barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions, with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name, and one of them to be the tyrant's own son. If it had been the meaning of Titus to withdraw the war from Nabis, because it was not grounded upon justice, then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him, which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this tyranny, then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held, as it was not honourable unto them to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them, nor pleasing to the Achæans, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of Titus; so did it minister unto the Ætolians, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be patrons of Greece, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since Philip, a king, and descended of many famous kings, might not be suffered by these masterly Romans to hold any one of those countries or towns in Greece that had belonged unto his ancestors, it was thought very strange that Lacedæmon, once the most famous city among all the Greeks, was by the same Romans left in possession of a tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday, and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and confederate. Nabis, on the other side, thought himself unmercifully dealt withal by the selfsame Romans, whose amity he had preferred, in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity of the Macedonian king, that had committed the city of Argos into his hands. But falsely had he dealt with the Macedonian, and

falsely was he dealt with by those to whom he did betake himself. Among these articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished Lacedæmonians (of whom a great number were in the Roman camp, having among them Agesipolis, the natural king of Sparta, that being a young child was driven out by Lycurgus, the first of the tyrants) there was made no provision to have them restored unto their city and estates, but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands, and sustained an assault or two, hoping belike that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, he delivered the hostages, and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the senate and people. From this time forward he thought the Romans more wicked than himself, and was ready upon the first advantage to do them all mischief that he could.

The Argives had heard news that Lacedæmon was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the garrison, which was much weakened by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by Pythagoras to help the tyrant at Sparta. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did, than they obtained it. Presently after this came T. Quintius to Argos, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the citizens had laid hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the Argives to be proclaimed at the Nemæan games, as ratifying it by his authority. The city was annexed again to the council of Achaia, whereby the Achæans were not more strengthened, than the Argives themselves were

secured from danger of relapse into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, Titus found little business or none wherewith to set on work his army in Greece. Antiochus was about to send another embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, Scipio the African, that was chosen consul at Rome, could not have his desire of being sent commander into Greece. The unsincere meaning of Antiochus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Ætolians, were held as considerations worthy of regard; yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way of confuting the Ætolians, and of throughly persuading all the Greeks (which was not to be neglected by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of Greece) that the good of the country was their sole intent, than by withdrawing thence their legions, and leaving the nation unto itself, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after Titus had spent a winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an assembly of delegates from all parts of Greece to Corinth, where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts, and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel, touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly he gave up Acrocorinthus to the Achæans, withdrawing thence the Roman garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at Chalcis and Demetrias, that so it might be known what liars the Ætolians were, who had accused the Romans of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the Greeks testify their good liking of that which Titus had said and done; as also (at his request) they agreed to ransom and en-

large all Romans that had been sold into their country by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end; and, by leaving the country before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his virtue and benefits, untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the city, he had the honour of a triumph, which was the goodliest of all that Rome had until that day beheld. Three days together the show of his pomp continued, as being set out with the spoils of a country more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had before made war. All sorts of arms, with statues and curious pieces of brass or marble, taken from the enemy, were carried in the first day's pageant. The second day was brought in all the treasure of gold and silver; some in the rude mass unwrought, some in divers sorts of coin, and some in vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of silver, and one of pure gold. The third day Titus himself entered the city in his triumphant chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, bestowed upon him by divers cities. There were also led the beasts for sacrifice; the prisoners and the hostages, among which Demetrius the son of king Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis, were principal. After him followed his army, and (which added much grace and good liking to the show) the Roman captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in Greece.

Not long after his triumph, he procured audience of the senate for many embassages that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of king Antiochus, whom the senate would not hear, but referred over to T. Quintius and the ten that had been his counsellors, because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the king's ambassadors wondered. They said unto Titus and his associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their mes-

sage; for all treaties of peace and friendship were either between the victor and the vanquished; between those that, having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield, and patiently endure the imposition of some covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where war had been made, and no advantage gotten, there was it usual to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten or lost, accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed, since it was reasonable that each part should hold their own, and neither carry itself as superior unto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion betwixt Antiochus and the Romans. Which being so, they held it strange that the Romans should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the king what cities of Asia he should set at liberty, from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted tributes; either putting or not putting his garrisons into them, as the senate should think fit. Hereto Quintius answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, he would also do the like: wherefore he propounded unto them two conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept; either that it should be lawful for the Romans to take part in Asia with any that would seek their friendship, or, if king Antiochus misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in Europe. This was plaindealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer to that which the king's ambassadors had propounded: for if the Romans might be hired to abstain from Asia by the gift of all that Antiochus had lately won in Europe, then did not the affairs of Smyrna, Lampsacus, or any other Asiatics, whom they were pleased to reckon as their confederates, bind them in honour to

make war with a king that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that Antiochus could not, without great shame, be so base as to deliver up unto them the city of Lysimachia, whereon of late he had been at so much cost in building it up even from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants that had all been dispersed, or captive to the Barbarians. And so much the ambassadors with great indignation alleged, saying, that Antiochus desired friendship of the Romans, but so as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans took upon them as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those towns which the king would oppress and hold in subjection, especially since those towns were of Greekish blood and language, and fell in that regard under the patronage which Rome had afforded unto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon have left Antiochus king of not many subjects on the hither side of Euphrates. Neither did they forbear to say, that, unless he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relied upon them in Asia, but therein to make new alliances, namely, (as might be understood,) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his ambassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two conditions their king would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the ambassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the king. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once again to send over P. Villius, and others that had been already with the king at Lysimachia, by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by Quintius and his associates would be accepted, yea or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless treaties ensuing, Antiochus got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for war, finding in the Romans, all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

SECT. V.

Of the long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Masinissa to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.

THE Insubrians, Boïans, and other of the Cisalpine Gauls, together with the Ligurians, made often, and (in a manner) continual war upon the Romans in Italy, even from such time as Hannibal and his brother Mago departed thence, until such times as they themselves were utterly subdued; which was not before the Romans were almost at the height of their empire. These nations, having served under Mago for wages, and afterwards having gotten Amilcar, a Carthaginian, to be leader unto them all, as hath been already shewed; by this their fellowship in arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of other's fortune, that seldom afterwards either the Gauls or Ligurians did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in [h] Gallia Cisalpina, now called Lombardy, it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second Punic wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that country by means of Hannibal's passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the reconquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the Romans, than was the first purchase; if, besides the greater employments which they had of their armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war had not been distracted by the Ligurians; that always made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The Ligurians were a stout nation, light and swift of body, well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of strait and dangerous passages. Few good towns they had, but many castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature; so as without much labour they could neither be taken nor be-

[h] Chap. 2. sect. 8. of this book.

sieged. They were also very poor, and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious army that should spoil their land. In these respects they served excellently well to train up the Roman soldiers to hardness and military patience; teaching them (besides other exercises of war) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to Rome grew partly from their love unto the Gauls, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the territory of their borderers, that were subject unto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the war, which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the condition of all savages, to be friends or foes by custom, rather than by judgment; and to acknowledge no such virtue in leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all or most of the West-Indians; who, if they be demanded a reason of the wars between them and any of their neighbours, use commonly this answer, "It hath still been the custom for us "and them to fight one against the other."

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these Ligurians gave unto the Romans; but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress; and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their country was a good place of exercise unto the Romans, so out of their own country they did little harm; not sending any great armies far from home, perhaps because they knew not how to make war, save on their own ground.

The country of Spain, as it was the first part of the continent out of Italy that became subject unto the Romans; so was it the last of all their provinces which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some geographers unto an ox-hide; and the Romans found in it the property of that ox-hide, which Calanus the Indian shewed unto the great Alexander, as an emblem of his large

dominions. For, treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground; and thus was it with Spain. Seldom did it happen, that those parts, from which the Roman armies lay furthest, were not up in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardy nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themselves; and being divided into many small seigniories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often overthrows; as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The Carthaginians had been accustomed to make evacuation of this choleric Spanish humour, by employing, as mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken soldiers from one part of the country, and used them in another; finding means to pay them all out of the profits which they raised upon the whole country, as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity, than were the Romans in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, using the service of their own legions, and of their sure friends the Latins, had little business for the Spaniards, and therefore were fain to have much business with them. Spain was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send over colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such armies in the country, as might serve to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedful captains, as might be still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first commotion. This they did; and thereby held the country, though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of Scipio, there was raised war in Spain against the Romans, even upon the same general ground that was the foundation of all the Spanish wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while help the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left behind him in that country, being well acquainted with the manner of war in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many victories; and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the country, which lasted five years. This victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the war, yet left it still remaining the cause of the war; which after five years brake out again. The Spaniards fought a battle with the Roman proconsul, whom they slew; and had a great victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their wars in Greece made the Romans think it enough to send thither two pretors, and with each of them some two legions. These did somewhat; yet not so much, but that M. Porcius Cato, who was consul the year following, and sent into that province, found at his coming little less to do, than the reconquering of all Spain. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one mind: some were faithful to Rome, and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when Cato had won a great victory upon the chief of them, they rose against him in many parts of the country, and put him to much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued, some of the lately vanquished were even ready to rebel. He therefore disarmed them; which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects, he called unto him the principal among them, and commending unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss, he prayed them to devise what course

might be taken for holding them assured unto Rome, without further trouble. None of them could or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of subject; he gave express charge, that upon a day appointed they should throw down the walls of all their towns. Afterwards he carried the war about from place to place, and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an army of the Celtiberians against other of their countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, that if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the victory, he could pay them with the enemy's money. Finally, he brought the war to so good end, that in long time after, though Spain were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the public revenues in that province, by causing some mines of iron and silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the commonwealth by a virtue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this M. Cato was not only very notable in the art of war, which might well be then termed the occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the Roman laws, a man of great eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or public. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the Roman antiquities, and of husbandry. In matter of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance, being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate; so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the Romans, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the ancient laudable customs of the

city. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the virtue of that noble Scipio the African, and some other worthy men, that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise he was a very good citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions, as if he never were out of his element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly, that even unto the end of his life he was exercised in defending himself, or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence; and four years after, he accused Sergius Galba unto the people. So began the nobility of Cato's family, which ended in his great grandchild M. Cato the Utican; one that, being of like virtue and fervency, had all his good purposes dashed, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish wars, after Cato's departure out of the country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many, and the country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman pretors therefore, of which two every year were sent over commanders into Spain, (that was divided into two governments,) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of triumph. One slew thirteen thousand Spaniards in a battle, another took fifty towns, and a third enforced many states of the country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, that the business in Spain required not the employment of a Roman consul, from such time as Cato thence departed, until the Numantian war brake out, which was very long after.

In all other countries to the west of the Ionian seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians.

For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine house promised all felicity which Rome could grant unto themselves and their obedient city, Masinissa fell to disputing with the sword about the title to the best part of their lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitful region about the Lesser Syrtis; wherein among other cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a talent unto Carthage for tribute. This country the Numidian challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage, for that the Carthaginians might not make any war, without leave obtained from their masters the Romans. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to Rome their complaint of his doings: and surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the judges had been unpartial. For besides that Scipio, in limiting out unto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this country, Masinissa himself, now very lately pursuing a rebel that fled out of his kingdom, desired leave of the Carthaginians for himself to pass through it in his way to Cyrene; thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the country was theirs. This notwithstanding, Masinissa had wherewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the Roman senate. He gave the fathers to understand by his ambassadors, what faithless people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the state of Rome. There had lately been sent unto them from Hannibal one that should persuade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined, upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebel, and therefore good policy to keep them down. As for the country of Emporia, it had always, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand; and so belonged sometimes unto the Numidian kings, though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were known, the citizens of Carthage had no very warrantable title unto any

more ground than that whereon their city stood, or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in Afric, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud and wrongful encroachments. This considered, Masinissa requested of the senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers the country sometimes appertaining to the ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly, they sent over three ambassadors, of whom P. Scipio the African was one and the chief, to decide the controversy; yet secretly giving them instructions to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The ambassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely that Masinissa, with a strong army, should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such arts were the Carthaginians held, not only from stirring in favour of king Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little unto their final destruction, that came upon them when the Romans had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

SECT. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to war upon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of Philopœmen in advantage of ground, whereby he utterly vanquisheth Nabis. Antiochus, being denied peace by the Romans, joins with the Ætolians. The Ætolians surprise Demetrias, and, by killing Nabis their confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the citizens, who at Philopœmen's persuasions annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the Roman armies thence departed, it grieved much the Ætolians to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of Philip, and the highest reputation among the Greeks, were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants, and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their estate, by adding much unto them of that which had been taken from the Macedonian. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate, and their indignation more vehement than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves, and give the Romans a sorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection, that they would not only persuade Antiochus to make war upon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the king of Macedon their ancient enemy, and with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon, to join all together in a new confederacy; whose joint forces could not in all likelihood but far

surmount those of the Romans, Achæans, Rhodians, and king Eumenes, with all that were of their faction. This was a great enterprise which the Ætolians took in hand, and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent ambassadors to all these kings, with persuasions, as they thought, most forcible. But Philip was irresolute, and Antiochus willing to try first all other courses. Nabis the Lacedæmonian, who neither (as Philip) had lost much, nor (as Antiochus) was in fear of any war, yet shewed himself of all other the most forward; and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege to Gyttheum, that had been lately taken from him by the Romans. The Achæans, to whose care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the affairs of Peloponnesus, were not slow to admonish Nabis of his duty; neither would they have stayed long from repressing his violence by open war, had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask counsel of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintius, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending ambassadors, and were advised by Quintius to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the Roman forces, that would shortly be amongst them, Nabis was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by wasting their own territory.

Philopœmen was then pretor of the Achæans, who had long been absent in Crete, making war there for his mind's sake and recreation. Unto him the Achæans referred themselves, giving him leave to order the war at his pleasure; either staying until the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve Gyttheum by sea; fearing lest the town, and the Achæan garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But Philopœmen was so bad a seaman, that he knew not a strong ship from a rotten. He made a quadrireme galley his admiral, that had fourscore years ago been counted a gallant vessel in the navy of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was the rest of his fleet so good as might encounter with that of the Lacedæmonian; only it fell out well, that he

committed himself to a light pinnace, or brigandine, that fought better with her wings than with her talons. For his admiral galley was stemmed at the first; and, being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the fleet saw what was become of their admiral, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But Philopœmen was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in sea-service, which was none of his occupation, he said that he would make amends by land. The tyrant withdrew part of his army from the siege of Gyttheum, to stop the Achæans, if they should invade his country: but upon these, which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopœmen came inexpected, fired their camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his army towards Lacedæmon, within ten miles whereof he was, when the tyrant met him, that had already taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nabis would have been ready for them so soon: or if he should come from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces, yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in rear. They marched therefore, almost securely, in a long troop reaching some five miles; having their horse, and the greatest part of their auxiliaries, at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his army, encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of Philopœmen, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the country about him, and to discourse what might befall an army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of soldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place, he were upon that ground encountered by a greater army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what piece of ground it

were meet for him to seize upon, and in what manner he might best do it? in what sort he should order his men, where bestow his carriages, and under what guard? in what sort encamp himself, and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation he was grown so perfect, that he never met with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers. At this time he made a stand; and having drawn up his rear, he encamped near unto the place where he was, within half a mile of the enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a rock; encompassing them round with his soldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent, so as Nabis could not at the present greatly molest him. Both armies were to water at one brook, whereto the Achæans lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philopœmen understood this, and laid an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the mercenaries of Nabis fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own auxiliaries to go to the tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the Achæans had a purpose to get between him and Lacedæmon; whereby they would both debar his return into the city, and withal encourage the people to take arms for the recovery of their freedom. The tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But Philopœmen was not so to be beguiled: he easily won the camp, and gave chase to Nabis; whose followers, being overtaken, had no courage to turn about, and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods, where they lay in covert all that day, Philopœmen conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day, he led forth the rest

that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto Lacedæmon. So Nabis's men, when it was dark night, perceiving in Philopœmen's camp great store of lights, thought that all had been at rest, and therefore adventured to make an escape home; but they were so waylaid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty days together after this did Philopœmen waste the country round about, whilst Nabis durst not issue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman ambassadors were then in Greece, and T. Quintius among them, labouring to make their party strong against Antiochus and Nabis, whom they knew to be solicited by the Ætolians. Very fair countenance they also made unto Philip; and with comfortable promises drew him to make show, whatsoever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his son; and were contented to let him hope that he should receive other favours at their hands, and regain possession of many places by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against Antiochus in Greece, whilst their ambassadors, that were with him in Asia, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yield unto one of the conditions by them so often propounded. The long absence of this king in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage between Ptolomy and his daughter, together with the death of young Antiochus the king's son, which happened during the treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the king from giving audience in person to the ambassadors, caused them to return home to Rome as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode at Ephesus, either by cunning or (as Livy rather thinks) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto Antiochus upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the Romans, that honoured his virtue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that

P. Scipio was one of these ambassadors; and that he, among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, which, of all the famous captains that had lived, Hannibal judged the most worthy? So Hannibal gave to Alexander of Macedon the first place, to Pyrrhus the second, and the third he challenged unto himself. But Scipio, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be so forgotten, asked yet further, "What wouldest thou have said, then, Hanni-"bal, if thou hadst vanquished me?" To whom the Carthaginian replied, "Then would not I have given the first "place to Alexander, but have claimed it as due unto my-"self." Now whether this were so, or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of Hannibal with the Roman ambassadors made him suspected of Antiochus; who therefore did forbear a while to use his counsel. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the king, and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was, he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his father had caused him to swear at the altars, when he was a little boy, that he never should be friend unto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vain surmises; but to know thus much, that as long as he thought upon war with Rome, so long would Hannibal do him all good service: whereas, contrariwise, if he intended to make peace, then should it behove him to use the counsel of some other man.

The Ætolians and their friends were no less busy all this while in making their party strong against the Romans, than were the Romans in mustering up their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with Antiochus, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against Philip, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the Roman ambassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the Macedonian; but in vain. He understood the Romans and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the utmost, as knowing

that all the burden must lie upon Antiochus and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an ambassador of the king Antiochus that animated them to resolution, the Athenian ambassadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little, by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence: for since Antiochus had now declared himself against the Romans, it would be no small piece of service to withdraw from his friendship those, by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *pancetolium*, or great assembly of the nation, where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand, whereby Greece was like to become a champaign field, on which, to the ruin of the country, the Romans and king Antiochus, that commanded no small part of the world, should fight for the mastery; the Ætolians, as masters in that kind of fence, setting them on, and becoming *the sticklers*[1]. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send ambassadors to Rome, that should either plead their right in the senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed were not good) make request to have what they desired, than thus to set the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much: they had already done ill to make the ambassador of the king, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words, that, by sending to Rome,

[1] Liv. l. 35. admistis Ætolis; *forte*, laniatis.

they might happen to obtain what they desired, either as their right, or else by way of favour; for with such terms had they been feasted once already, and were by the senate rejected unto Titus; who, having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction, yet would now again refer them to the senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore without more ado they made a decree, that king Antiochus the Great should be entreated to come over into Greece, as well to set the country at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the Romans and Ætolians. Such a decree they would not have made, had they not understood the king's mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery whereby to vaunt themselves to the king's ambassadors, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their pretor to let him see a copy of this new decree. The pretor answered, that then he had other things to do; but that this decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in Italy upon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have done better, as the Ætolians are like to understand hereafter; but, having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the war they referred unto the more private council of their nation, that no occasion might slip in waiting for the authority of a general assembly. The *apocleti* (so were the privy council of Ætolia called) went as hotly to work as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot how to get into their hands at one time the towns of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta; to each of which they sent men for the purpose. Demetrias they took upon the sudden, entering, some of them, as friends to conduct home a principal man of the city, who, for speaking words against T. Quintius, had been driven to fly thence, but was, by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled. His Ætolian companions, that were not many, seized upon a gate; whereat they let in a troop which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chief of the Roman faction. At Chalcis they sped not so well: thi-

ther also they had a banished man to bring home; but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the town prepared to defend itself against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer; saying, that they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliver the town from the Romans, who more insolently domineered over it than ever the Macedonians had done. By such rhetoric they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force: for the townsmen replied, that they neither found any abridgment of their liberty, nor needed any garrison to keep them from the Romans; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dashed. The attempt upon Sparta was more strange and desperate: Nabis, their good friend, was lord of the town, styling himself king; but, more truly, by all men called tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which Philopœmen had lately given him; since, he durst not stir abroad, and daily expected the mischief that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after other, to the Ætolians, requesting them, that as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, that the ravenous Ætolians were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their own ends: and so dealt they now. For since Nabis's mercenary forces, which upheld his tyranny, were in a manner consumed, they thought it expedient for their estate to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure Lacedæmon unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand foot and thirty horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by Damocritus, the pretor, brought into the council of the apocleti, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to

think that they were sent to make war with the Achæans, or to do ought else, save only what Alexamenus should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason, yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words; telling him, that Antiochus was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to cover all the land and sea with his mighty armies; and that the Romans were like to find other manner of work than of late with Philip; since the elephants of this great king, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the Ætolians, he said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to Lacedæmon all the forces that they could raise; but that they were very desirous, at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed Nabis to take heart, bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the city, and train them without the walls; as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest rather than defence. Nabis was glad of this; and daily exercised his men in the field, riding up and down with his Alexamenus, and no more than three or four horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion to step aside alone to his Ætolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit; which done, he still returned again to Nabis. But when he saw time for the great work that he had in hand, he then went aside to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoined them at their setting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithal the tyrant began to draw near them; and Alexamenus, making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down: the thirty Ætolians never stood to deliberate upon the

matter; but all flew in, and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently upon the fact committed, the tyrant's mercenaries ran unto the dead body, where, instead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus with his Ætolians hasted into the city, and seized on the palace; where he fell to ransacking the treasure, and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the town, did also the like, with the greater indignation of the citizens; who, seeing themselves free by the death of the tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in arms; and for lack of another captain, they took a little boy of the royal stock, that had been brought up with Nabis's children, whom they mounted upon a good horse, and made him their chief. So they fell upon the Ætolians that were idly straggling about, and put them all to the sword; Alexamenus, with not many of his company, were slain in keeping the citadel; and those few that escaped thence into Arcadia were taken by the magistrates, who sold them all as bondslaves. In this doubtful estate of things at Lacedæmon, Philopœmen came thither; who, calling out the chief of the city, and speaking such words unto them as Alexamenus should have done after he had slain the tyrant, easily persuaded them, for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the Achæans; thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the Ætolians, and the small but effectual travail of Philopœmen, the Achæans made a notable purchase; and Lacedæmon, that had hitherto been governed either by kings, or by tyrants that called themselves kings, became the member of a commonwealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation when Sparta ruled over all Greece.

SECT. VII.

Antiochus, persuaded by Thoas the Ætolian, comes over into Greece ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the king's ambassadors and the Ætolians, with the civil answer of Titus to their discourse before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and Antiochus as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty estates that fell to the king. Of Aminander; and an idle vanity, by which king Philip was lost. Hannibal gives good counsel in vain. Some towns won in Thessaly. The king retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young wife, and revels away the rest of winter. Upon the coming of the Roman consul all forsake Antiochus. He with two thousand Ætolians keeps the straits of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Asia; leaving all in Greece unto the victors.

ANTIOCHUS was troubled much in Asia with Smyrna and Lampsacus, that would not hearken to any composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable to leave them enemies behind him; and to win them by force was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speed convenient to shew himself in Greece, where he had been told that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the country there was a very small number which bore hearty affection unto the Romans; that Nabis was already up in arms; that Philip was like a bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more than to break loose; and that the Ætolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent Barbarians. Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the king was thinking to send Hannibal into Afric, there to molest the Romans, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in Greece, Thoas the Ætolian came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his countrymen had already taken De-

metrias, a town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for Hannibal, Thoas was bold to tell the king, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence; and secondly, that in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the king's service than was that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian: for, he said, that the king should as greatly feel the loss of a fleet or army, perishing under such a notable commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality; whereas nevertheless, if Hannibal prevailed, Hannibal alone should have all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this regard he was of opinion, that such a renowned warrior should be always near unto the king's person, to give advice; which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the sovereign command, even of the king himself. Antiochus gladly hearkened unto this admonition, being jealous of the virtue that shined brighter than the majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination which tended more to the advancement of his desires than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, he made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the sea-side to Ilium, there to do sacrifice to Minerva of Troy. Thence passing over the Ægean sea, he came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the Magnesian, the same whom the Ætolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won Demetrias, was now the chief man and ruler of his nation: he therefore with his countrymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the king Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The king was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck to be so entertained at the

beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnesians found not the like cause of joy: for whereas they had expected a fleet and army somewhat like to that of Xerxes; they saw three hundred ships, of which no more than forty were serviceable for the wars; with an army of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The Ætolians no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a parliament, and made a decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would so do, and was therefore well onward on his way towards them when they met him that brought the decree. At his coming to Lamia, the Ætolians gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their counsel, he made an oration, wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater army. This was, he said, in true estimation a sign of his goodwill, in that he stayed not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him would be satisfied unto the full: for it was his meaning to fill all Greece with armies, and all the sea-coast with his fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travail, or danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken, even to drive the Romans and their authority out of Greece, leaving the country free indeed, and the Ætolians therein the chief. Now as the armies that were following him should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent, because he would not be any way burdensome unto his confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with corn and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the Romans and them should be put by compromise to the decision of Antiochus,) that they would yield unto the king's desire, and

assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute prince to engage himself, as did Antiochus, in a business of dangerous importance, upon the promised assurance of a state that is merely popular: for if the vehemency of Thoas, and some other of that faction, had not prevailed in this council, the Ætolians, for gain of two or three towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this king their friend unto the discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? he could have bemoaned himself to Thoas, and complained of the wrong; but he must have been contented with this answer; that the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom Thoas would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him and for the Ætolians. He was chosen general of all their forces; and thirty commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a council of war for the nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the war. Chalcis was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken; whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The king had brought with him into Ætolia but a thousand foot, leaving the rest behind him at Demetrias. With these he hasted away directly toward Chalcis, being overtaken by no great number of the Ætolians, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the magistrates, and some of the chief citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Ætolians began, as they had lately done before, to tell how the Romans had only in words and false semblance set Greece at liberty: but such liberty, as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained, until, by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great Antiochus come thither; a king well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the Romans; who nevertheless desired them

only, so to join with him in league, as that if either the Romans or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power to seek redress at the other hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: that their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute, for which they were to thank the Romans, without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the Greeks; forasmuch as none of them payed any tribute, was kept under by any garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own laws, and without being tied unto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered why the king should thus trouble himself to deliver cities that were already free. But since he and the Ætolians requested their friendship, they besought both him and the Ætolians to do a friendly office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the king departed; for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield before all the succours could arrive, which Titus had sent for their defence.

The chief city of Eubœa being thus gotten, all the rest of the island shortly yielded to Antiochus. Four or five hundred Roman soldiers, that came over-late to have defended Chalcis, reposed themselves at Delium, a little town of Bœotia, lying over-against the island, where was a temple and grove, consecrated unto Apollo, that had the privilege of an inviolable sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any danger, as being in such a place, and no war hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus, one of Antiochus's captains, that had wearied himself in many vain treaties of peace, took advantage of their carelessness, and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped; fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat Quintius was grieved;

yet so as it pleased him well to consider, that his Romans had now more just cause than before to make war upon the king.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent ambassadors into all quarters of Greece, in hope that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer as the Chalcidians had done. Some reserved themselves until he should come among them; knowing, that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir; or, if he came, the Romans must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off joined with him in true meaning, save the Eleans, that always favoured the Ætolians, and now feared the Achæans. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the Achæans to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope that the envy which Titus was said to bear unto Philopœmen's virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that nation and the Romans. Wherefore both he and the Ætolians sent ambassadors to the council at Ægium, that spared not brave words, if the Achæans would have so been taken. The king's ambassador told of great armies and fleets that were coming, reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Elimæans, and Cadusians, names that were not every day heard of, and therefore, as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at sea the Sidonians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were, such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture, it was, he said, well known, that the kingdoms of Asia had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived, who, considering the late war made against Philip, did think that this with Antiochus would prove the like; the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful king, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the utmost parts of the east, requested no more of the Achæans, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the Romans. To the same effect spake the Ætolian ambassador, and fur-

ther added, that in the battle at Cynoscephalæ, neither Titus had done the part of a general, nor the Romans of good soldiers; but that both he and his army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by virtue of the Ætolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the council, and heard all this, to which he made as fit answer as could have been desired. He told the Achæans, that neither the king's ambassador nor the Ætolian did so greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their orations, as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the king and the Ætolians together. For even such brags as here they made before the Achæans, who knew them to be liars, had the Ætolians also made unto king Antiochus; proclaiming the victory over Philip to be merely their act, and the whole country of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they been feasted by the king with such tales as his ambassador told even now, of Dahans, and Aradians, and Elimæans, and a many others, that were all but a company of Syrians, such as were wont to be sold about for bond-slaves, and good for little else. These diverse names of rascal people were, he said, like to the diversity of venison wherewith a friend of his at Chalcis (no such vaunter as were these ambassadors) had some time feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondered, was none other, as his host then merrily told him, than so many pieces of one tame swine, dressed after several fashions, with variety of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp, it were good to make judgment of the great king by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him, for which little army he was fain, in a manner, to beg victuals of the Ætolians, and take up money at usury to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the country, from Demetrias to Lamia, thence back to Chalcis, and, being there shut out, to Demetrias again. These were the fruits of lies; wherewith since both Antiochus and the Ætolians had each de-

luded other, meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable auditory much persuasion is needless. The Achæans did not love so well the Ætolians, as to desire that they should become princes of Greece; but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what Antiochus did, how he sped in Eubœa, or what other cities were like to take his part, but readily proclaimed war against him and against the Ætolians.

How the hatred between these two nations grew inveterate sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their patrons, the one the Romans, the other king Antiochus. Herein did each of them unwisely; though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the Ætolians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and left the country at rest, there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an army thither again. And in this respect ought the Greeks to have sought, not how Smyrna and Lampsacus might recover their liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late,) but how the powers of the east and west, divided and kept asunder by their country, as two seas by an isthmus, or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the bar that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base Asiatics, which originally were Greekish, than the general applause wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were Lysimachia, and the towns in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising jointly to assist the Romans with their whole forces both by land and sea, whensoever king Antiochus should make the least offer to stir against them; then had not only this quarrel been at an end, but the Ro-

man patronage over the country had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a lordly rule.

The Achæans were at this time, in a manner, the only nation of Greece that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the Romans, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides; or if some few, as did the Thessalians, were firm against Antiochus, yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The Bœotians willingly received him as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Romans, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. Aminander the Athamanian, besides his old friendship with the Ætolians, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from Alexander the Great, naming his two sons, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor court of Athamania; where, having made his folly known by talking of his pedigree, he was judged by Antiochus and the Ætolians a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of Alexander his forefather, it was their purpose to do their best for the conquest of Macedon to his behoof, since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto, it behoved him to draw Aminander to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleased herewith, and by persuasions of himself or of his sister effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary king, (whether it proceeded from his own phrensy, in hope to get love of the Macedonians, that should be his subjects, or whether from some vanity in king Antiochus, that employed him,) wrought more harm to his friends than he and Aminander were able to do good. There were two thou-

sand men committed to his leading, with which he marched unto Cynoscephalæ, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered Macedonians, whom their king had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The Macedons troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all; but king Philip took it in high indignation, as intended merely unto his despite. Wherefore he presently sent unto the Romans, and gave them to understand that he was ready with all his power to aid them whereinsoever they should be pleased to use him.

The Ætolians, Magnesians, Eubœans, Bœotians, and Athamanians, having now all joined with him, Antiochus took counsel of them about the prosecution of the war in hand. The chief question was, whether it were meet for him to invade Thessaly that would not hearken to his persuasions, or whether to let all alone until the spring, because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another, confirming each his own sentence with the weightiest reasons which he could allege, as in a matter of great importance. Hannibal was at this meeting, who had long been cast aside as a vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the king, that what he should now utter was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into Greece. For the Magnesians, Bœotians, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts, what were they else than so many poor estates, that, wanting force of their own, did adjoin themselves, for fear, unto him that was strongest at the present, and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alleging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoveful to win king Philip of Macedon unto their party, who (besides that being once engaged he should not afterwards have power to recoil, and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty prince, and one that had means to sustain the Roman war with his proper forces. Now that Philip might be easily persuaded to join with them, the be-

nefit likely to redound unto himself by their society was a very strong argument; though indeed what need was there of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said he, "these Ætolians here present, and namely "this Thoas, being lately ambassador from them into Asia, "among other motives which he then used to excite the king "unto this expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. "He told us, that Philip was moved beyond all patience "with the lordly insolence of the Romans, likening that "king to some wild beast, that was chained or locked up "within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this "be so, let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, "that he may regain his liberty, and satisfy his angry "stomach upon those that are common enemies to us and "him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be "greater than his indignation, then shall it behove us to "look unto him, that he may not seek to please his good "masters, the Romans, by offending us. Your son Seleucus "is now at Lysimachia, with part of your army; if Philip "will not hearken to your embassage, let Seleucus be in "readiness to fall upon Macedon, and find him work to "defend his own on the other side, without putting us here "to trouble. Thus much concerning Philip, and the pre-"sent war in Greece. But more generally for the ma-"naging of this great enterprise, wherein you are now em-"barked against the Romans, I told you my opinion at "the beginning, whereto had you then given ear, the Ro-"mans by this time should have heard other news, than "that Chalcis in Eubœa was become ours. Italy and Gaul "should have been on fire with war, and, little to their "comfort, they should have understood, that Hannibal was "again come into Italy: neither do I see what should "hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send "for all your fleet and army hither, (but in any case let "ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store "of victuals; for as the case now stands, we have here too "few hands and too many mouths.) Whereof let the one half "be employed against Italy, whilst you in person with the

" other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian sea, may both " take order for the affairs of Greece, and therewithal " make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow " us into Italy; yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it " shall be requisite. This is my advice; who, though per- " haps I am not very skilful in all sorts of war, yet how to " war with the Romans, I have been instructed by long " experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this " counsel, which I give, I promise you my faithful and di- " ligent service for the execution; but what counsel soever " you shall please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous." Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken bravely; but of all this was nothing done, save only that one was sent into Asia, to make all things ready there. In the mean while they went in hand with Thessaly, about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But Larissa, that was chief of the country, stood out, not regarding any terrible threats of the king, that lay before the walls with his whole army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune: for M. Bæbius, a Roman propretor, did send help thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himself enemy unto Antiochus, whereby the fame of the succour coming to Larissa grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For Antiochus perceiving many fires on the mountains' tops afar off, thought that a great army of Romans and Macedonians had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself by the time of the year, he brake up his siege, and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in love with a young maiden, daughter unto a citizen of the town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, he shortly married, and so spent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and captains followed his example, and the soldiers as readily imitated their captains; in such wise,

that when he took the field he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his army had passed the winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptial revels, by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The war against Antiochus fell to him by lot, whereas otherwise he was no way so honourable as Nasica his colleague, unto whom fell a charge of far less credit and importance. Nasica, besides the great nobility of his family, had been long since, in time of the Punic war, crowned with the title of *the best man in Rome:* when the senate, for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by oracle, that none other man than the very best should entertain an old stone, which the Devil then taught them to call *the mother of the gods.* But no prerogative of birth, virtue, or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own province, or arrogate more unto himself, than his lot should afford him. This unpartial distribution of employments helped well to maintain peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make war against the Boiians, wherein he purchased the honour of a triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his colleague, though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of war. But M. Acilius went over into Greece with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. Ptolomy king of Egypt, notwithstanding his late alliance with king Antiochus, and Philip king of Macedon, had lately sent ambassadors to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into Ætolia, there to assist the consul in this war. Ptolomy sent also gold and silver toward the defraying of charges, as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks, and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto Philip's

ambassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted, and that the senate and people of Rome would think themselves beholding to him for the assistance that he should give to Acilius the consul. Masinissa likewise, and the Carthaginians, did strive which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantity of grain, which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the army in Greece. And herein Masinissa far outwent the poor city of Carthage, as also in that he offered to lend the consul five hundred horse and twenty elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertook to set out a fleet at their own charges, and to bring in at one payment all the tribute-money which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good to let them arm a fleet, nor would let them redeem themselves out of tribute, by paying all at once. As for the corn, it was accepted with condition that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible, were not the difference exceeding great between the Roman and the Asiatic soldier. Antiochus had gotten this spring a few towns of Acarnania, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece, partly by fair words, and treason of the rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse, when they should again forsake him. But king Philip and Bæbius having recovered many places, and the Roman consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance, he was glad to withdraw himself. Aminander fled out of his Athamania, which the Macedonian took and enjoyed, as in recompense of his good service to the Romans. Philip, the brother of Aminander's wife, was taken by the consul, made a mocking stock, and sent away prisoner to Rome. The Thessalians used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the king. All their cities, one after other, gave up themselves; the garrisons of Antiochus, com-

pounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed; yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and took pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochus; who, having withdrawn himself to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends, and said, that they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toil during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such nuptials as were little to his honour; after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the Ætolians merely verbal, and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired Hannibal as a wise man, yea a very prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless he sent word to the Ætolians, that they should now make ready all their forces, as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the Ætolians had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus, who, having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the king was angry, and could get no better satisfaction, than that Thoas and his fellows had done their best, in vain, to have made all the nation take arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece would appear in this time of danger, he seized upon the straits of Thermopylæ, as meaning to defend them against the Romans, until more help should come. Of the straits of Thermopylæ there hath been spoken enough [m] before, upon many occasions; and then chiefly when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge army of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily be conceived how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessaly, were unable to pass that ledge of mountains, dividing the one half of Greece, unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between Leonidas and Antiochus.

[m] Lib. 3. ch. 6. §. 3.

The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a world of men coming to invade the country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in Greece, did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest messages one after other to the Ætolians, entreating them not to forsake him thus, but at leastwise now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the Romans, finding any bypath, should come down upon him. By this importunity he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages, by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the enemy to ascend. The Roman consul in like sort prepared to force the straits, without staying to expect king Philip, that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had both of them been consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the Ætolians. He himself encouraged his army, not only by telling them with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deal, but what rich kingdoms Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them, if they were victors. This was on the day before the battle. All that night Cato had a sore journey, (for what happened unto L. Valerius it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent,) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired with climbing up steepy rocks and crooked ways, he commanded them to repose themselves, whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path, which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the enemies. So thither he brought his men, and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a fair way through the

straits below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopylæ been so often the seat of war, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate mountains. Wherefore the way that Cato followed, though it were the best, yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he stayed there until daylight, by which he discovered both the camp of the Greeks underneath him, and some of the Ætolians very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service, and willed them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected, and he thereby understood that these Ætolians were no more than six hundred; as also that king Antiochus lay beneath in the valley. So he presently set upon the Ætolians, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their camp guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the armies below; and the Romans, that had easily repelled the king's men, and driven them into their camp, found it in a manner a desperate piece of work to assault the camp itself, which occupied the whole breadth of the straits, was notably fortified, and not only defended by Antiochus's long pikes, which were best at that kind of service, but by archers and slingers, that were placed over them on the hill-side, and poured down a shower of weapons on their heads. But Cato's approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the Ætolians had been coming to help the king's men; but when the Roman arms and ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance, but all of them forsook the camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great, for that the badness of the way did hinder the Roman army from making pursuit: yet this day's loss drave Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis, and from thence, with the first opportunity, got him back into Asia.

All the cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus prepared forthwith to entertain the Romans, and

entreat for pardon; setting open their gates, and presenting themselves unto the consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few days all was recovered that Antiochus had gained, the Ætolians only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the consul give them any respite. At his return from Chalcis, he met with king Philip, that, having recovered health, came to join with him against Antiochus, over whom since the victory was already gotten, he did gratulate unto the Romans their good success, and offered to take part with them in the Ætolian war. So it was agreed that the consul should besiege Heraclea and Philip Lamia, at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard, especially Philip, who fain would have taken Lamia before the consul should come to help him: but it could not be; for his Macedonians that used to work by mine were overmuch hindered by the stony ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be taken, when the consul, having won Heraclea, came thither, and told Philip that the spoil of these towns was a reward unto those that had fought at Thermopylæ. Herewith Philip must be contented, and therefore went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could so ill endure to see Philip in likelihood of thriving by the Romans' victory, got not Lamia himself, until such time as another consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of Heraclea did so affright the Ætolians, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto king Antiochus presently after his flight, entreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece, or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour, but appertained unto his own safety, since it would be much to his hurt, if the Ætolians, being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto

Nicander, one of their ambassadors, a sum of money that might serve to defray the charges of the war, promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by land and sea. Thoas, another of their ambassadors, he retained with him, who willingly stayed, that he might urge the king to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them, then did the Ætolians lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of Antiochus, and made suit unto the consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable condition. The consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said he had other business in hand, only he granted them ten days of truce, and sent L. Valerius Flaccus with them to Hypata, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to Hypata, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to allege how well they had deserved of the Romans. Whereto Flaccus would not hearken. He told them plainly, that the memory of all such good offices past was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late; wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the Romans, and to that effect sent ambassadors to the consul. This phrase of "commit-"ting unto the faith," signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the Romans used those words in another sense, and counted them all one as "[n] yielding to discretion." Wherefore, when the consul heard them speak in this manner, he asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was, and shewed him the decree of their nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said he, "I command you first of all, that none of ye "presume to go into Asia, upon any business private or "public; then, that ye deliver up unto me Dicæarchus the "Ætolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Atha-

[n] Legat. excerpt. e Polyb. 13.

" manian, and such of his countrymen as have followed him " in revolting from us." Whilst he was yet speaking, Phameas the ambassador interrupted him, and prayed him not to mistake the custom of the Greeks, who had yielded themselves " unto his faith, not unto slavery." " What!" said the consul, " Do ye stand to plead custom with me, " being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain." With that, chains were brought, and an iron collar by his appointment fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But Valerius and some others entreated the consul not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as ambassadors, though since, their condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himself, and said, " that neither he, nor " yet the apocleti, or ordinary council of the nation, were " able to fulfil these injunctions, without approbation of the " general assembly." For which cause he entreated yet further ten days respite, and had granted unto him truce for so long.

This surceasance of war, during ten and other ten days together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea, when Philip had been commanded away from Lamia, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that king, and to the end that he might not return home with his army, like one that could not be trusted in employment, especially the Romans being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this war; he was desired to set upon the Athamanians, and some other petty nations their borderers, whilst the consul was busy with the Ætolians, taking for his reward all that he could get. And he got in that space all Athamania, Perrhœbia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. For the Ætolians, hearing what had befallen their ambassadors, were so enraged, that although they were very ill provided for war, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of peace. And it happened, that Nicander about the same time was come back from Antiochus, with money and hopeful promises, the Romans abiding still about Heraclea, and Philip having lately risen

from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His money Nicander conveyed into Lamia, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to make report of his embassage, was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps. Yet he made the adventure, and keeping as far as he could from the Roman side, fell upon a station of Macedonians, by whom he was taken, and led unto their king. He expected no good, but either to be delivered unto the Romans, or used ill enough by Philip. But it seems that the king had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from Lamia: for he commanded his servants to entreat Nicander friendly, and he himself being then at supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up, giving him to understand, that the Ætolians did now reap the fruits of their own madness, forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans, and then with king Antiochus; but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any trial; for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages, whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the king willed Nicander to signify unto his countrymen, and privately to hold in mind the courtesy which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a convoy to guard him to Hypata, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, Nicander was always after dutifully affected to the crown of Macedon, so as in the war of Perseus he made himself suspected unto the Romans; and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the consul understood that the Ætolians refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it, he

forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus, whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length than the Romans had preconceived it; for it was a strong city, and well manned. But Acilius stood upon point of honour, wherein he thought that he should have been a loser, by rising from before it without victory. So he stayed there well near all the following time of his consulship, whilst the Macedonian king and the Achæans made far better use of the Roman victory. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong city of Demetrias; and with an hasty course of victory subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achæans called to account the Eleans and Messenians, which had long been addicted to the Ætolian side, and followed it in taking part with Antiochus. The Eleans gave good words, whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The Messenians being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the Achæan pretor wasted their country, than to offer themselves unto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth, to whom they sent word, that at his commandment their gates should be opened, but that unto the Achæans it was not their meaning to yield. A message from Titus to the Achæan pretor did suffice to call home the army, and finish the war; as also the peremptory command of the same Titus caused the Messenians to annex themselves unto the Achæans, and become part of their commonweal. Such was now the majesty of a Roman ambassador. Titus did favour the Achæans, yet could not like it well, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great lords, and able to dispute with the Romans upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the isle of Zacynthus,

which had once been Philip's, and was afterward given by him to Aminander, who sent a governor thither: but when Aminander in this present war was driven out of his own kingdom by Philip, then did the governor of Zacynthus offer to sell the island to the Achæans, whom he found ready chapmen. Titus liked not of this, but plainly told them, that the Romans would be their own carvers, and take what they thought good of the lands belonging to their enemies, as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the Achæans referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, that their commonwealth was like a tortoise, whereof Peloponnesus was the shell, and that holding themselves within that compass they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in Peloponnesus, he went over to Naupactus, where Glabrio, the consul, had lain two months, that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the Ætolians, or out of dislike of king Philip's thriving so fast, he persuaded the consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole nation, so long truce that they might send ambassadors to Rome, and, submitting themselves, crave pardon of the senate. Most like it is, that Naupactus was in great danger, else would not the Ætolians have made such earnest suit as they did unto Titus, for procuring of this favour. But if Glabrio had been sure to carry it, in any short space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it, since the winning of that town, wherein was then the whole flower of the nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to Rome, no entreaty could help them to better conditions, than one of these two: that either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the senate, or else pay a thousand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any, further than as the Romans should give approbation. They had not so much money, neither could they well hope to be

gently dealt withal, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, and how far forth, they should yield unto the good pleasure of the senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer; so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilst the Ætolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the consul had little to do in Greece, and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable Achæans. He would have had them to restore the banished Lacedæmonians home into their country, and to take the Eleans into the fellowship of their commonwealth. This the Achæans liked well enough; but they did not like it that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished Lacedæmonians, intending to make it an act of their own mere grace. As for the Eleans, they were loath to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Achæans, into whose corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should have their desire without such compulsive mediation.

The Roman admiral, C. Livius, much about the same time, fought a battle at sea with Polyxenidas, admiral to the king Antiochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans, though it was not great; and five and twenty sail of Rhodians came after the battle, when they were following the chase. The king's fleet was the better of sail, but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenidas being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger, as soon as he betook himself to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first year's war between king Antiochus and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greeks as had followed the vain hopes of the Ætolians were glad to excuse themselves by fear, thinking themselves happy when by ambassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrary side, Philip of Macedon, arch-enemy of late unto the Romans, did now send to gratulate this their victory;

and, in recompense of his good affection, had restored unto him Demetrius his younger son, whom some few years they had kept as an hostage. Also king Ptolomy of Egypt, gratulating the Roman victory, sent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard he desired the senate not to foreslow time, but to send an army, as soon as might be, into Asia, promising, that his assistance, whereinsoever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This Ptolomy was the son-in-law of king Antiochus; but he was the friend of fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the Romans were like to have the upper hand. The same did Antiochus now begin to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at Ephesus as if he had been in another world; but was told by Hannibal, that it was not so far out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battle for his kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius the African, his elder brother, for his lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure pass into Asia. Much troublesome business by sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes's kingdom, with the siege of Pergamus, raised by an handful of the Achæans. L. Scipio the consul comes into Asia, where Antiochus most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battle of Magnesia, wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yieldeth to the Romans' good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed the Asiatic, *as his brother was styled* the African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen consul at Rome with C. Lælius. Lælius was very gracious in the senate; and therefore being desirous (as generally all consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrament of the

senate, if L. Cornelius would be so pleased, the disposition of their provinces, without putting it to the hazard of a lottery. Lucius having talked with his brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the fathers, who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblameable decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, that if the senate would appoint his brother to the war against Antiochus, he himself would follow his brother in that war as his lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversy was forthwith at an end: for if Antiochus relied upon Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great captain; what better man could they oppose than Scipio, that had been victorious against the same great worthy. But indeed a worser man might have served well enough the turn: for Hannibal had no absolute command, nor scarce any trust of great importance, excepting now and then in consultation, where his wisdom was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilst he lived in such a court. Antiochus mustered his army in presence of this famous captain, thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish that he had been served by such brave men in Italy: for they were gallantly decked, both men, horses, and elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a sunshine day. Whereupon the king, well pleasing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what he thought, and whether all this were not enough for the Romans. "Enough," said Hannibal, "were the Romans "the most covetous men in all the world;" meaning, that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly Asiatics was no better than a spoil to animate good soldiers. How little this answer pleased the king, it is easy to guess. The little use that he made of this Carthaginian testifies that his dislike of the man caused him to lose the use of his service when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The Scipios made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other soldiers newly pressed to the war, about five thousand voluntaries, that had served under P. Africanus. There was also a fleet of thirty quinquereme galleys, and twenty triremes newly built, appointed unto L. Æmilius Regillus, that was chosen admiral the same year for that voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old consul Glabrio besieging Amphissa, a city of the Ætolians. The Ætolians, after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at Naupactus. Wherefore they not only fortified that town, but kept all the passages thereto leading, which heedlessly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unguarded the last year. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon Lamia; which being not long since much weakened by Philip, and now by him attempted on the sudden, was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to Amphissa, which he had almost gotten, when L. Scipio, his successor, came with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, and took charge of the army. The town of Amphissa was presently forsaken by the inhabitants; but they had a castle, or higher town, that was impregnable, whereinto they all retired. The Athenian ambassadors had dealt with P. Scipio in behalf of the Ætolians, entreating him to stand their friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words; and willed them to persuade the Ætolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro, though Publius continued to put them in good hope, yet the consul made still the same answer with which they had been chased from Rome. The conclusion was, that they should sue for a longer time of respite from war; whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the senate, or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained half a year's truce; after which, the winter was like to afford them another half year's leisure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad than was P.

Scipio, who thought all time lost which withheld the war from passing over into Asia.

The business of Ætolia being thus laid aside, and the old consul Glabrio sent home into Italy, the Scipios marched into Thessaly; intending thence to take their way by land, through Macedon and Thrace, unto the Hellespont. Yet they considered, that hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of king Philip; who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage; or at the least, would he be unfaithful, though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the Thracians, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance; wherein whether he meant sincerely they thought to make some trial, by causing a gentleman to ride post unto him, and observe his doings as he should take him on the sudden. The king was merry at a feast, and drinking when the messenger came; whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With these good news Gracchus returned back in haste unto the Scipios; who, entering into Macedon, found all things in a readiness that might help to advance their journey. The king entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the Hellespont, where they stayed a good while, until their navy was in readiness to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at sea in the beginning of this year, though, for the most part, little of importance. Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian, true to the king, and desirous of revenge upon his countrymen, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the Rhodian fleet was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to sea, thought to do somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work; and

sent word, as in great secrecy, to the Rhodian admiral, that if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, he would, in requital thereof, betray all the king's fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed; and the Rhodian admiral grew so careless, expecting still when he should receive a watchword from Polyxenidas, that he himself was taken by Polyxenidas in his own haven. The king's fleet setting forth from Ephesus by night, and, for fear of being discovered, resting one day in harbour by the way, came the second night to Samos; where, by morning, it was ready to enter the haven. Pausistratus, the Rhodian admiral, seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance to bestow his men on the two headlands, or points of the haven, so to guard the mouth of it; for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by sea. But Polyxenidas had already landed some companies in another part of the island; which, falling upon the back of Pausistratus, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion; so as the enemies took him out of all order; and sunk or boarded all his navy, five excepted, that, by a sudden device, made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning cresset upon two poles, at the beakhead, and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy; who, having not bethought himself what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto those desperate galleys, for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the king's fleet.

Not long after this, the Romans had some loss by tempest; whereof Polyxenidas could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to sea for that purpose, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other galleys; the Romans also, with king Eumenes, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battle to Polyxenidas before the haven of Ephesus. When he durst not accept it, they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they

were entreated by the Rhodians, or persuaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing; for that one while they were hindered by storms at sea, and another while by strong resistance, made against them at land.

Eumenes, with his fleet, was compelled to forsake them, and return home to the defence of his own kingdom: for Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Elæa and Pergamus; and leaving his son Seleucus to besiege the royal city of Pergamus, did with the rest of his army spoil the whole country thereabout. Attalus, the brother of king Eumenes, was then in Pergamus, having with him no better men to defend the city than they were that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in fear, being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand foot and an hundred horse of the Achæans; old soldiers all, and trained up under Philopœmen; whose scholar, in the art of war, Diophanes their commander was. This Diophanes, beholding from the walls of Pergamus, which was an high town, the demeanour of the enemy, began to disdain that such men as they should hold him besieged: for Seleucus's army, which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst sally forth upon them, grew so careless, as, otherwise than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an enemy's country. Diophanes therefore spake with Attalus, and told him that he would go forth to visit them. Attalus had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equal. But the Achæan would needs have his will; and, issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered at first what his meaning was; but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness, and laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked so stoutly: so they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Which Diophanes perceiving, he commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they well might; and he himself, with the hundred

horse, brake out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horses ready saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance; so as he drave them all out of their camp, and chased them as far as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of them, and no loss of his own. Hereat all the citizens of Pergamus (who had covered the walls of the town, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very joyful, and highly magnified the virtue of these Achæans. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates to help the Achæans in doing what remained to be done. The next day Seleucus encamped half a mile further from the town than he had done before; and against him went forth Diophanes the second time, who quietly rested a while in his old station. When they had stayed many hours, looking who should begin, Seleucus, in fair order as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging, that was further off; Diophanes moved not whilst the enemy was in sight, but as soon as the ground between them hindered the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his horse, charged them in rear, so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels to their very trenches. This boldness of the Achæans, and the baseness of his own men, caused Seleucus to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these Asiatics, Philopœmen had cause to tell the Romans, that he envied their victory. For when Antiochus lay feasting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his soldiers betook themselves to riot, as it had been in a time of great security, a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tippling in their victualling-houses; which Philopœmen said that he would have done, had he been general of the Achæans, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travail, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at Pergamus, into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put himself, with a few of his horse and light armature. Before Per-

gamus he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to Elæa, whither he heard that Æmilius the Roman admiral was come, to bring succour to Eumenes. There he made an overture of peace, about which to consult, Eumenes was sent for by Æmilius, and came from Pergamus. But when it was considered that no conclusion could be made without the consul, this treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused Seleucus to give over the siege of Pergamus. Afterwards, four or five towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the king; and the Syrian fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the Rhodian, which was of like number. But of this victory the Rhodians had no great cause to rejoice, for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, together with Apollonius, a courtier of Antiochus, was admiral of the Syrians, did them in manner as great hurt as they could do to Apollonius, and having the victory taken out of his hand by Apollonius's flight, yet made such a retreat, that the Rhodians durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these actions, which were but as prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the Romans by sea, against Polyxenidas, the king's admiral. The battle was fought by Myonnesus, a promontory in Asia, where Polyxenidas had with him fourscore and nine galleys, and five of them greater than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by sea, we may note the vanity of those brags wherewith Antiochus vaunted the last year, that his armada should cover all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fifty galleys; the Rhodians two and twenty: the Roman being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the Rhodian more light-timbered and thin-planked, having all advantage of speed and good seamen. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device with which five of their galleys had lately escaped from Samos: for with fire in their prows they ran upon the enemy, who, declining them for fear, laid open his side, and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the king's navy hoisted sail, and, having

a fair wind, bore away toward Ephesus as fast as they could. Yet forty of their galleys they left behind them, whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The Romans and their fellows lost only two or three ships, but got hereby the absolute mastery of the sea.

The report of this misadventure may seem to have taken from Antiochus all use of reason. For, as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in Europe, he presently withdrew his garrisons from Lysimachia, which might easily have been kept, even till the end of winter following, and have reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) to terms of great extremity. He also gave over the siege of Colophon; and, laying aside all thought, save only of defence, drew together all his army, and sent for help to his father-in-law, king Ariarathes the Cappadocian.

Thus the Roman consul, without impediment, not only came to the Hellespont, but had yielded unto him all places there belonging to Antiochus on Europe side. The fleet was then also in readiness to transport him over into Asia, where Eumenes had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease, even as if the country had been his already. The first news that he heard of the enemy was by an ambassador that came to sue for peace. This ambassador declared in his master's name, that the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now persuade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Lysimachia, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the king had now already given over Lysimachia, and was further purposed not to strive with the Romans about Lampsacus and Smyrna, what reason was there why they should need to trouble him with war? If it was their desire that any other towns upon the coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands, the king would not refuse to gratify them [redacted]

let them take some part of Asia, so as the bounds, dividing them from the king, might not be uncertain, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the king would likewise bear half the charges whereat they had been in this war. So praying the Romans to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers, which to the ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the Romans to be very little. For they thought it reasonable that the king should bear all the charges of the war, since it began through his only fault; and that he should not only depart out of those few towns which he held in Æolis and Ionia, but quite out of Asia the Less, and keep himself on the other side of mount Taurus. When the ambassador therefore saw that no better bargain could be made, he dealt with P. Scipio in private, and to him he promised a great quantity of gold, together with the free restitution of his son, who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the king. Scipio would not hearken to the offer of gold, nor otherwise to the restitution of his son, than upon condition, that it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the public business, he only said thus much, that since Antiochus had already forsaken Lysimachia, and suffered the war to take hold on his own kingdom, there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. "Wherefore," said he, "tell your king in my name, that I would advise him to "refuse no condition whereby he may have peace."

The king was not any whit moved with this advice. For seeing that the consul demanded of him no less than if he had been already subdued, little reason there was that he should fear to come to battle, wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more than, by seeking to avoid it, he must give away. He had with him threescore and ten thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, besides two and fifty Indian elephants, and many chariots armed with hooks or scythes,

according to the manner of the eastern countries. Yet was he nothing pleased to hear that the consul drew near him apace, as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he was affected, he made so little show of fear, that hearing P. Scipio to lie sick at Elæa, he sent thither unto him his son without ransom, as one both desirous to comfort this noble warrior in his sickness, and withal not desirous to retain the young gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of Scipio, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay; better it was to do such a courtesy before the battle, as would afterwards have been little worth, than to stay until the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recovery of his son, so as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompense of the king's humanity, he said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable present; "I am now able to make your "king none other amends, than by advising him not to "fight, until he shall hear that I am in the camp." What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. Antiochus resolved to follow his counsel, and therefore withdrew himself from about Thyatira, beyond the river of Phrygius, or Hyllus, unto Magnesia by Sipylus, where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him L. Scipio the consul, and sat down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the king's horse, most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid the Romans welcome, of whom at first they slew some, and were anon, with some loss, driven back over the river. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the king nor the Romans would pass the water. The third day the Romans made the adventure, wherein they found no disturbance, nor were a[illegible]osed, until they came within two miles and an half [illegible] camp. There, as they were taking up their [illegible] were charged by three thousand horse and f[illegible]

ordinary *corps du garde* repelled. Four days together, after this, each of them brought forth their armies, and set them in order before the trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the Romans came half way forward, and presented battle, which the king would not accept. Thereupon the consul took advice what was to be done: for either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all winter, far from any country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties, unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to winter in a more convenient place, and so defer the war until the next spring. The Roman soldier was throughly persuaded of that enemy's base temper: wherefore it was the general cry, that this great army should be assailed, even in the camp where it lay, as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed in discovering the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while P. Scipio came not. Wherefore the king, being loath to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the Romans took the field again, and ordered their battles, he also did the like, and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The Roman army consisted of four legions, two Roman and two Latin, in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The Latins, as usually, were in the points, the Romans in the main battle. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into maniples. The Hastati had the leading; after them followed the Principes, at such distance as was usual; and last of all the Triarii. Now, beside these, there were about three thousand auxiliaries, partly Achæans, and partly such as belonged to Eumenes, which were placed in an equal front beyond the Latins in the right wing. Utmost of all, (save some five hundred Cretians,) and of the Trallians, were almost three thousand horse, of which Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred, the rest being Roman. The left wing was

fenced by the bank of the river, yet four troops of horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the camp. The consul had with him sixteen African elephants, which he bestowed in his rear; forasmuch as, had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they only would have served to discourage his men, as being sure to be beaten, the Indian being far the greater and more courageous beasts, whereof Antiochus had likewise much advantage in number.

The king's army being compounded of many nations, diversely appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called *phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten battalions, every one having two and thirty in file, and fifty in front. Between every battalion were two elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with frontals, high crests, towers on their backs, and, besides him that governed the elephant, four men in every tower, made a gallant and terrible show. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred horse of the Gallo-Greeks, then three thousand barbed horse, and a regiment of almost a thousand horse, called the *agema*, that were all Medians, the choice of the country, and accompanied by some others. All which troops of horse, divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in front. Adjoining to these were sixteen elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand was the king's own regiment, called the *argyraspides*, or silver-shields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name that had served under great Alexander; then, twelve hundred archers on horse-back, three thousand light-armed foot, two thousand and five hundred archers of Mysia, with four thousand slingers and archers of the Cirtæans and Elymæans. On

hand of the phalangiers were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks and barbed horse; as also two thousand horse that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers nations, and a regiment of a thousand horse more lightly armed, that were called *the king's troop*, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In front of all these horse were the chariots armed with hooks or scythes, and the dromedaries, whereon sat Arabians with long rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many nations, Carians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cirtæans, Elymæans, and many others, having also with them sixteen elephants. Antiochus himself commanded in the right wing, Seleucus in the left, and three of his principal captains commanded over the phalangiers.

The first onset was given by the dromedaries and armed chariots; of which the one being like to terrify the horse, the other to break the squadrons of the foot, Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, archers, darters, and slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and, running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the enemies. Wherefore the Roman horse, following this advantage, charged upon the left wing, where they found no resistance; some being out of order, others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible, that the phalangiers, with such variety of auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soon as they were charged. Only the king, Antiochus himself, being in the left wing of his own battle, and seeing the Latins, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with horse, gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But M. Æmilius, that had the guard of the Roman camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows; and, what by persuasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already

victorious; whereof when Antiochus discovered the approach, he not only turned his horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tarriance. The camp was defended a little while, and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. Antiochus is said to have lost in this battle fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse, besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slain above three hundred foot and four and twenty horse; of Eumenes's followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custody of Sardes, and the castle there, to one whom he thought faithful: but the townsmen and soldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the overthrow, that one man's faith was worth nothing. All the towns in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded up themselves by ambassadors; whom they sent to the Romans whilst they were on the way. Neither were many days spent, ere Antiochus's ambassador was in the camp; having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose upon the king his master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother; who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done, which was, that he should quite abandon his dominions on this side of Taurus. For their charges in that war they required fifteen thousand talents; five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred when the senate and people of Rome should have confirmed the peace, and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred talents for Eumenes, and some store of corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, with some others who had stirred up the king to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived that it would be

their purpose to make this one of their principal demands, as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The king's ambassador had full commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoined: wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the peace.

There were new consuls chosen in the mean while at Rome, M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius Volso. The Ætolians desired peace, but could not obtain it; because they would accept neither of the two conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, that one of the consuls should make war upon the Ætolians, the other upon Antiochus in Asia. Now though shortly there came news that Antiochus was already vanquished in battle, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands; yet since the state of Asia was not like to be so throughly settled by one victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Roman's care, Cn. Manlius, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his province changed.

Soon after this, came the ambassadors of king Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others, yea, by king Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with king Antiochus, there was no disputation; it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his own deserts; and, comparing himself with Masinissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him than they had been to the Numidian, since they had found him a king indeed, whereas Masinissa was only such in title; and since both he and his father had always been their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have; he still referring himself to their courtesy, and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him as much of the country by them taken from Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they

should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the Greek towns that were on Asia side: for since the most of those towns had been partakers with the king in his war, it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this: they desired the senate to be truly patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of Greece itself had been subject unto Philip, and served him in his war; which was not alleged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted was this, that the victory of the Romans against king Antiochus was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their friends. The senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the war against king Antiochus; after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a triumph; the pomp whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had beheld until that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *the African* had been given unto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some, to reward L. Scipio with the title of *the Asiatic;* which the fortune of his victory had no less deserved, though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof was no way correspondent.

SECT. IX.

The Ætolians and the Gallo-Greeks vanquished by the Roman consuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a triumph, being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyl's prophecies; the books of Hermes; and that inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipios, and the beginning of faction among the Roman nobility.*

MARC. FULVIUS and Cn. Manlius had the same charge divided between them, which L. Cornelius Scipio, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one man's work, to look at once to Greece and to

Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had granted so long a truce to the Ætolians. But since, in this long interim of truce, that haughty little nation had not sought to humble itself to the Roman majesty, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the Greeks. The best was, that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the Ætolians. They had foreseen the danger, when their ambassadors were utterly denied peace at Rome, and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreat the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devise upon helping themselves, even by repurchase of countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor king Aminander lived in exile among them, whilst Philip of Macedon kept for him possession of his lands and castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own prince) having been long accustomed to serve a mountain lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner, could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the captains of Philip's garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their king, and offered their service toward his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Ætolians upon the day appointed; at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four the chief towns in the country to his use. The fame of this good success at first, with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the action, made the lieutenants of Philip unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the town of Theium a few days; giving thereby some leisure unto his king to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence, and

could only tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. Philip had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out in such a running march, he left all, save two thousand, behind him, and so came to Athenæum, a little Athamanian castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take a place lying over Argithea, that was chief of the country. Zeno did as he was appointed: yet neither he nor the king had the boldness to descend upon Argithea, for that they might perceive the Athamanians, all along the hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busy. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat; especially when Aminander came in sight with his thousand Ætolians. The Macedonians were called back, from-wards Argithea, and presently withdrawn by their king towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Ætolians waylaid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plain flight, with great loss of men and arms; few of those escaping that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the country until Philip's return.

The Ætolians, having found the business of Athamania so easy, made attempt, in their own behalf, upon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged unto their nation, and were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently revolted, and became Ætolian again. The Dolopians lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These took arms at first, but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the Ætolian quarrel, and seeing their own king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these victories the joy was the less, for that news came of Antiochus's last overthrow, and of M. Fulvius the new consul's hasting with an army into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the senate not to

take it in despite, that he had recovered his own from Philip, with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the Romans were much offended to hear of Philip's losses; for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors nor earnest reprovers. Fulvius went in hand with the business about which he came, and laid siege to Ambracia, a goodly city, that had been the chief seat of Pyrrhus's kingdom. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Ætolians; yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians' power; for they were at the same time vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest by Perseus the son of Philip, who invaded the countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the Romans as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors came, who besought the consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The consul had no desire to spend half his time about one city, and so be driven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the war. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the Ætolians, and bade them seek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over dear at a reasonable price, considering with how great a part of his kingdom their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, offering his service as a mediator, to put himself into Ambracia, and try what good his persuasions might do with the citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians accompanied those of the Ætolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession, for that Philip had made very grievous

complaint about the loss of those countries which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the senate could not but take notice, though it hindered not the peace which those good mediators of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly solicit. The Ætolians were bound to uphold the majesty of the people of Rome, and to observe divers articles, which made them less free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any people of Greece; they having been the first that called these their masters into the country. The isle of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans, who kept it for themselves, (as not long since they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achæans, by stiffly pressing their own right,) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilst they seemed to forbear the country. But concerning those places whereto Philip or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed as would necessarily require to have the Romans judges of the controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made, when want of employment elsewhere shall cause a more lordly inquisition to be held upon the affairs of Macedon and Greece.

Cn. Manlius, the other consul, had at the same time war in Asia, with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His army was the same that had followed L. Scipio; of whose victory his acts were the consummation. He visited those countries on the hither side of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans, to whom they were abandoned by Antiochus. Among these there were some petty lords or tyrants, some free cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration happened in Asia. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those provinces into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetched a compass about Asia, he came at length upon the Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered over the country; though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forepast acts, than any [redacted] of theirs, which held them up in [redacted]

mans they had lately such trial, when they served under king Antiochus, as made them to know themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the river Halys, in an inland country, where those enemies were not like to search them out. But when such hopes failed, and when some princes of their own nation, that had been friends of Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yield, then was no counsel thought so good as to forsake their houses and country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountains of Olympus and Margana. These mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time, as also the natural strength being helped by such fortification as promised greatest assurance, it was thought that the consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greeks had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough to that purpose; the Romans, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones beforehand, but catching up what lay next, the too great and the too little, oftener than those of a fit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive arms, could not hold out against the arrows and weapons of the Roman light armature, but were driven from a piece of ground which they had undertaken to make good, up into their camp, on the top of the mountain; and being forced out of their camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep rocks. Few of the men escaped alive; all their wives, children, and goods, became a prey unto the Romans. In

the very like manner were the rest of that nation overcome soon after, at the other mountain; only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended, Fulvius and Manlius were appointed by the senate, each of them to retain as proconsul his province for another year. Fulvius, in his second year, did little or nothing. Manlius gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to Ariarathes, the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the Roman arms. He drew from them all what profit he could, and laid upon them such conditions as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Antiochus, whereto he swore, and received the king's oath by ambassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of Asia, he took his way toward the Hellespont, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many years extorted from the wealthy provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this army of Manlius return home rich in money alone, or cattle, or things of needful use, which the Roman soldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous householdstuff, and slaves of price, excellent cooks, and musicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the seeds of that luxury which finally overgrew and choked the Roman virtue.

The country of Thrace lay between Hellespont and the kingdom of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journey homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment among the Thracians,[o] either for that he passed through them without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because Philip of Macedon had taken order that the Barbarians should not stir. But when Manlius came along with an huge train of baggage, the Thracians could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought that Philip took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this Roman army robbed and well beaten on the

[o] Livy, l. 39.

way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes: for he understood, and afterwards gave the Romans to understand, that Eumenes could not have abiden in his own kingdom, if the people of Rome had not made war in Asia; whereas contrariwise, Antiochus had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty ships of war, to take part with him and the Ætolians; promising moreover to restore unto him all the Greek cities that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and Eumenes, when the war began, he thought it no even dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to give away, not only the half of Asia, but Chersonesus and Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one town. It agreed not indeed with his nobility to go to Rome and beg provinces in the senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two Scipios, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was grown into near acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the wars in Spain and Afric. This, perhaps, he deemed sufficient to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes took a surer way: for the Scipios had not the disposing of that which they won from Antiochus; as neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten delegates assisting him; but the senate of Rome, by which those delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore saw these upstart kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself, yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs, then found he great cause to wish that he had not so hastily declared himself against Antiochus, or rather that he had joined with Antiochus and the Ætolians, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At

the present it was believed, that the Thracians were by him set on to assail the Romans passing through their country. They knew all advantages; and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind; though both the getting and the saving did cost many lives, as well of the Barbarians as of the Romans. They fought until it grew night, and then the Thracians withdrew themselves, not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the army could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the kingdom they had a fair march into Epirus; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To Manlius and to Fulvius, when each of them returned to the city, was granted the honour of triumph. Yet not without contradiction; especially to Manlius; whom some of the ten delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation, it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with Antiochus, they said, [p] "That with much ado he was kept from leading his "army over Taurus, and adventuring upon the calamity "threatened by Sibyl's verses unto those that should pass "the fatal bounds." What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith Sibyl's prophecy threatened the Roman captain or army, that should pass over Taurus, I do not conceive. Pompey was the first that marched with an army beyond those limits; though the victories of Lucullus had opened unto him the way, and had beforehand won, in a sort, the countries on the other side of the mount; which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus's race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we find not that either Lucul-

[p] Livy, l. 38.

lus or Pompey suffered any loss in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecy fell out near about one time with the restitution of Ptolomy king of Egypt, that was forbidden unto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the Egyptian king. Whether the oracles of Sibyl had in them any truth, and were not, as Tully noteth [q], "sowed at random "in the large field of time," there to take root, and get credit by event, I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of Ptolomy to his kingdom by Gabinius the Roman should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour, as some, both ancient and modern Christian writers, have been well pleased to interpret Sibyl in that prophecy. Of the Sibylline predictions I have sometimes thought reverently, though not knowing what they were, (as I think few men know,) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful idolatry that upon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the books of Sibyl, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgment of Eusebius, when that learned and excellent work of master Casaubon [r] upon the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, did altogether free me from mine error, making it apparent, that not only those prophecies of Sibyl wherein Christ so plainly was foreshewed, but even the books of Hermes, which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the undiscreet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian religion strengthened with foreign proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we ought to place that notable history reported by [s] Eusebius from no mean authors, of the honour which was done to Simon Magus in Rome; namely, of an altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Si-*

[q] Tull. de Divin. l. 2.
[r] Isaac. Casaub. Exercitat. 1. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. et 11.
[s] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 13.

moni Deo sancto; that is, "To Simon the holy God." For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable and so public should have been quite omitted by Tacitus, by Suetonius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that Seneca, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am persuaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad criticism, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*; a title four hundred years older than the time of Simon Magus. For the goods of one Vitruvius, a rebel, had many ages before been consecrated *Semoni Sango;* that is, "To the spirit or demi-"god Sangus," in whose chapel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them, it might easily come to pass, that the words should be mis-read, *Simoni Sancto;* and that some Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame the conjecture which now passeth for a true history. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by tradition, whereby, also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historical than was conceived by the author. But it cannot be safe to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbered among a few of the richest which ever the city beheld. Out of that which he brought into the treasury, was made the last payment of those monies which the commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second Punic war. So long was it that Rome had still some feeling of Hannibal; which being past, there was remaining neither care nor memory of any danger. This triumph of Manlius was deferred by him, even as long as he well could; for that he thought it not safe to make his entrance into the city, until the heat of an inquisition, then

therein, should be allayed. The two Scipios were called, one after other, into judgment, by two tribunes of the people; men, only by this accusation known to posterity. P. Scipio the African, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him of purloining from the common treasury, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus to make an ill bargain for his country. When, therefore, his day of answer came, he appeared before the tribunes, not humbly, as one accused, but followed by a great train of his friends and clients, with which he passed through the midst of the assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the people, that upon the same day of the year he had fought a great battle with Hannibal, and finished the Punic war by a signal victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the law; but intended to visit the Capitol, and there give thanks to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the commonwealth. And hereto he invited with him all the citizens; requesting them, "that if ever since "the seventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, "the honourable places by them conferred upon him had "prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had "exceeded the greatness of those honourable places; then "would they pray that the princes and great ones of their "city might still be like to him." These words were heard with great approbation; so as all the people, even the officers of the court, followed Scipio, leaving the tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaves and a crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgment, until, for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the African perceived that the tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial, he willingly relinquished the city, and his unthankful Romans, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at Liter-

num, quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year in this voluntary banishment, it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year with Hannibal and Philopœmen, as also of his private behaviour at Liternum, render it probable that he outlived the tribuneship of his accusers, who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was, the same tribunes went more sharply to work with L. Scipio, the Asiatic. They propounded a decree unto the people, touching money received of Antiochus, and not brought into the common treasury; that the senate should give charge unto one of the pretors to inquire and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this decree an oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect virtue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the public, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty; for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconscionable, in seeking to increase his own wealth by such means as the law did warrant. Ambition was his vice, which, being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself and the whole city, whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his; but lately before this, when Glabrio, whose lieutenant he had been at Thermopylæ, was his competitor for the censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, that he had not brought into the common treasury some vessels of gold and silver gotten in the camp of Antiochus. Now the hatred which he bare unto the Scipios grew partly (besides his general spite at the nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was com[illegible]

nanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked not the African, partly from some check that was given unto himself in the African voyage, by P. Scipio, whose treasurer he then was. For when Cato did utter his dislike of the consul's bad husbandry (judging magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner, Scipio plainly told him, that he had no need of such double diligence in his treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgment thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, Cato filled Rome with untrue reports against his general, whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred; which being not regarded nor thought upon by the Scipios, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against L. Scipio, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpose against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money far exceeding his ability to pay. For non-payment, his body should have been laid up in prison; but from this rigour of the law he was freed by Tiberius Gracchus, the same tribune who had caused the suit against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the city, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to Antiochus, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay, then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the people. But for this was L. Scipio no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the civil war of the tongue, in the Roman pleadings, which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, since the Punic war. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire, which

first caught hold upon that great worthy, to whose virtue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words and cunning practice. For when the art of leading the multitude in such quarrelsome business grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-matched by their adversaries, at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubs and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets, unto battle in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a lady of rare virtue, that in honour of her two sons was more commonly named Mother of the Gracchi, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of her friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of law, but rather approved by the senate. At these times the senators began to take upon them authority more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the consuls all the whole power of the city, under this form, "Let the consuls pro-"vide, that the commonweal receive no detriment." By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any citizen enemy to the state, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracchus, and of Saturninus, a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way, it was not long ere Marius, a famous captain of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of arms returned into the city, and murdered all the principal senators; whereupon began the civil wars, which giving unto Sylla, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute lord of Rome, taught Cæsar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like sovereign power, when by the like decree of the senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any consul had finally cause to rejoice of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their laws, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the city stand in need of a sovereign lord;

so the vehemency of the senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were overtopped by voices in the house, did compel Cæsar, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by arms, wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither senate nor people should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans, consuming all or most of their principal citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of one: suffering this change in three generations after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them, as the highest lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto unto complete greatness, nor believed of herself as if she had, whilst a king sat crowned on the throne of Alexander, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian war.

SECT. I.

The condition wherein those princes and estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the war with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for war, obtains peace at Rome, by his son Demetrius; of whom, thenceforth, he becomes jealous.

AFTER the overthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes king of Pergamus, the commonweal of the Achæans, and all other the states of Greece, were governed by the same laws and magistrates as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the Romans in those parts; yet in very truth (the public declaration excepted) they were

none other than absolute vassals to the people of Rome. For of those five prerogatives belonging to a monarch, or unto sovereign power, in whomsoever it rest, namely, to make laws, to create magistrates, to arbitrate peace and war, to beat money, and to reserve, as the French call it, *le dernier resort*, or the last appeals, the Romans had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, the appeal, or last resort, as every petty injury, offered to each other by the forenamed kings or states, was heard and determined either by the Roman ambassadors or commissioners in those places whence the complaint came, or otherwise by the senators themselves within Rome: from whose arbitrament or direction, if either king or commonweals declined, he or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience, or had their estates and regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless, it is true that they had their own laws, and officers of their own ordaining; yet so as neither their laws were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several estates of Greece did bow very gently; either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or as being skilful in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But Eumenes living further off, and being most obsequious unto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings; his conformity unto them in matter of war and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his kingdom bordered upon the nations by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto Masinissa and to his house, until Carthage was

ruined, and their dominion settled in Afric; as likewise afterwards to the kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others; holding people in subjection unto themselves by the ministry of kings, especially of such kings as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them, which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their armies through his country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with victuals and other things needful, to transport them over the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus; yet upon the complaint of Eumenes, and the states of Thessaly and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the cities of Ænus and Maronea, with all pieces and places demanded by any of his neighbours, whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or license even from the Romans themselves.

These towns of Ænus and Maronea had been part of Lysimachus's kingdom, who, from Thrace northwards, and to the north-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself lord of Transylvania, in which province it is said [t] that innumerable medals of gold have been found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crowns, and stamped with his image on the one side, on the other side with victory. Of all these lordships, the possession, or rather the title, (for he lived not to settle his estate in Europe,) fell to Seleucus Nicator by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew Lysimachus; as also, by the like right, Ptolomy Ceraunus thought them his own, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gauls, which the kingdom of Macedon could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away

[t] Hist. of Hungary, by Mart. Fumee, lib. 3.

from that crown, together with the more part of Thrace, all those heaps of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the son of Demetrius, and his successors, though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the Gauls being overpast, those countries which lately had been oppressed by them recovered their liberty, and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanians and wild Thracians, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon Macedon. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king Philip did provide the most convenient remedies, by shutting up the ways, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his kingdom, and by occupying Lysimachia, with some other towns in Thrace, which he fortified, as bulwarks of his own country, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behoved him thus to do for the defence of his own estate, yet, forasmuch as these towns were in a manner at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Ætolians of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied Lysimachia. Hereto he made a good answer, that his garrison did only save it from the Thracians, who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said touching Ænus and Maronea, that they were places unable to defend themselves, and gates, by which the Barbarians might have entrance into his kingdom. But this plea had not availed him in the disputation about Lysimachia; and in the present question the Romans were not without their own title, since Antiochus had gotten all the country thereabout, whilst Philip was busied in his former war; and since they, by their victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the senate, referring it unto their disposition, whether Ænus and Maronea should be set at liberty, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon Eumenes, who begged them as an appendix to Lysimachia

and Chersonnesus, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive by the demeanour of their ambassadors towards him; who, sitting as judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversy. Nevertheless he sent ambassadors to Rome, there to maintain his right unto these towns, wherein he thought that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their consuls in the war against Antiochus and the Ætolians, wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself was now taken from him by their ambassadors; and would they now deprive him of those two towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of Antiochus, like as out of his own ruins Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations, either he was likely to prevail, or at leastwise to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long, ere he had word from Rome, that the senate were no more equal to him than had been their ambassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the Maronites had behaved themselves in pleading against him for their liberty, he took counsel of his own passions, and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to Onomastus, that was warden of the sea-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. Onomastus employed Cassander, one of the king's men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians by night, that they might sack the town, and use all cruelties of war. This was done; but so ill taken by the Roman ambassadors, who had better notice than could have been feared of these proceedings, that the king was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly than became his majesty to an account. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the Maronites; affirming, that they, in heat of their factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to Eumenes, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one another's throats. And hereof

he willed the ambassadors to inquire among the Maronites themselves, as well knowing that they who survived were either his own friends, or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more severe, and more throughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himself of the crime objected, he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome, there to be examined as the senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him: yet he collected his spirits, and said, that Cassander should be at their disposition; but concerning Onomastus, who had not been at Maronea, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him, since it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for Cassander, because he should tell no tales, he took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the doctrine which Machiavel taught unto Cæsar Borgia, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt scholars in this lesson to the more ancient, as the reign of Henry the Eighth here in England can bear good witness; and therein especially the lord Cromwell, who perished by the same unjust law, that himself had devised, for the taking away of another man's life.

Such actions of Philip made an unpleasant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger son Demetrius as ambassador unto the senate, giving him instructions how to make answer to all complaints; and withal to deliver his own grievances, in such wise, that, if ought were amiss, yet might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The sum of his embassage was, to pacify the Romans, and make all even for the present. Demetrius himself was known to be very acceptable unto the senate, as having been well ap-

proved by them when he was hostage in Rome, and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat, were it only in regard that would be borne unto his person.

Whilst this business with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readiness to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the Roman arms; the same ambassadors, that had been judges between him and his neighbours, made their progress through the rest of Greece, and took notice of the controversies which they found between some estates in the country. The greatest cause that was heard before them was the complaint of the banished Lacedæmonians against the Achæans. It was objected unto the Achæans, that they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many citizens of Lacedæmon; that unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the walls of the city; as also further, in changing the laws, and abrogating the famous institutions of Lycurgus. Hereto Lycortas, then pretor of the Achæans, made answer, that these banished Lacedæmonians, who now took upon them to accuse the nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelessly they laid the blame upon others; the Achæans having only called those unto judgment, that were supposed to be chief authors of a rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintiffs having slain them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of Lacedæmon, he said it was most agreeable to Lycurgus's ordinance, who, having persuaded his citizens to defend their town and liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kinds of fortifications, as the retreats and nests either of cowards, or (whereof Lacedæmon had woeful experience) of tyrants and usurpers. Further, he shewed, how the same tyrants that had built these walls, and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lycurgus's ordinances, and governed the city by their own lawless will. As for the Achæans, they communicated their

own laws, which they held for the best, or else would soon change them and take better, unto the Lacedæmonians, whom they found without laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For conclusion, Lycortas plainly told App. Claudius, the chief of the ambassadors, that he and his countrymen held it strange, being friends and faithful allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained to answer and give account of their actions, as vassals and slaves unto the people of Rome. For if they were indeed at liberty, why might not the Achæans as well require to be satisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busy themselves to take account how things went at Lacedæmon? For if the Romans would stand upon their greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratify it; then must the Achæans have recourse unto those agreements that were confirmed by oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing, the Romans, but much more the immortal gods. To this bold answer of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply: yet taking state upon him, he pronounced, more like a master than a judge, that if the Achæans would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might, they should be compelled with a mischief to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the parliament of the Achæans, which groaned to hear the lordly words of Appius. Yet fear prevailed above indignation, and it was permitted unto the Romans to do as they listed. Hereupon the ambassadors restored some banished and condemned men; but the Roman senate, very soon after, did make void all judgments of death or banishment, that had been laid by the Achæans upon any citizen of Lacedæmon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the city and territory of Lacedæmon should be suffered to continue a member of the Achæan commonwealth, or taken from them, and made, as it had been, an estate by itself. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared, that

they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy; though by contributing Sparta to the council of Achaia, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the Achaians, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the Greeks, and all kings and commonweals whatsoever bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean seas, reduced themselves by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, and Africans, all subdued by the Romans, and, by seeking patronage, made mere vassals, to instruct them what, in the like case, they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of estate and policy so prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruin, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free princes and cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for Philip of Macedon, who, though he saw the Greeks very far from daring to stir against those by whom both he and they were kept in awe, yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his subjection had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the country would be his, whensoever he should take arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young Demetrius, coming home from Rome, brought with him the desired ratification of peace, though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at Rome, and heard with great favour in the senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the art of wrangling, could not readily make answer, it was permitted unto him to read such brief notes as he had received from his father, and out of those the senate were contented to gather satisfaction, more for Demetrius's own sake, as they then said, and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodness in the defence. Such

pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreaty of his son, together with some insolence of his son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the Romans, did increase in Philip his hatred unto Rome, and breed in him a jealousy of his too forward son. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new ambassadors from Rome, some bringing one commandment, some another, and some requiring him to fulfil those things which had been imposed upon him by their foregoers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and, when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands, yet laid it to his charge that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these ambassadors young Demetrius was conversant, rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, that Perseus, the elder son of the king, should not succeed unto his father, but that the diadem should be conferred upon Demetrius, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere favour of the Romans. This offended not only Perseus, but Philip himself; who suspected his younger son as more Roman than his own, and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

SECT. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the military profession is of all other the most unhappy, notwithstanding some examples which may seem to prove the contrary.

THE Romans, wanting other matter of quarrel in the continent of Greece, had of late been so peremptory with the Achæans, that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversy that should be moved. Hereupon the Messenians, who against their will were annexed unto the Achæan commonwealth, having long been of a contrary faction thereto, grew bold to withdraw them-

selves from that society, with purpose to set up again an estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their city, who, finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the Achæan league. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings, Philopœmen, then pretor of the Achæans, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal gentlemen of the Achæans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse, he had some auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with Dinocrates, captain of the Messenians, whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chase, there arrived, by chance, a supply of five hundred from Messene, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the enemies began to make head again, and with the help of those who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled Philopœmen's horsemen to turn back. Philopœmen himself had long been sick of an ague, and was then very weak; yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the retreat; and suffering his horsemen to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians, whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrify from approaching over-near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the enemies came upon him, and took him;

yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these news to Messene was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the city ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune, and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from Nabis the tyrant, began to manifest their good-will for his delivery. Contrariwise, Dinocrates and his faction were desirous hastily to take away his life, because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace or injury, done to him, unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him, but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The hangman of the city was let down unto him with a cup of poison, which Philopœmen took in his hand, and asking no more than whether the horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycortas was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well, and so with a cheerful countenance drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakened with long sickness, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The Achæans, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case, they got advertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently afflicted, so as ambassadors were forthwith despatched unto Messene, craving his en-

largement; and yet preparation made withal to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. Lycortas was chosen general of the army against Messene; who coming thither, and laying siege to the town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then Dinocrates, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of Philopœmen, that were carried home in solemn pomp to Megalopolis, where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his ghost whom they had offended. Q. Martius, a Roman ambassador, was then in Greece, whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman ambassadors were seldom absent. He would have intermeddled in this business of Messene, had not Lycortas made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius sent ambassador to Prusias king of Bithynia; not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against Eumenes, as to entreat him that he would deliver Hannibal, the most spiteful enemy in all the world unto the senate and people of Rome, into his hands. Prusias (therein unworthy of the crown he wore) did readily condescend; or rather, (as Livy thinks,) to gratify the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him alive to Flaminius. For upon the first conference between the king and Flaminius, a troop of soldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous captain, having found cause, before this, to suspect the faith of Prusias, had devised some secret sallies under ground, to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were foreclosed, he had recourse to his last remedy, which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and merciless hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poi-

son into his hand, which he always preserved for a sure antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: "I "will now," said he, "deliver the Romans of that fear which "hath so many years possessed them; that fear, which "makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. "This victory of Flaminius over me, which am disarmed, "and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered "among the rest of his heroical deeds: no; it shall make "it manifest to all the nations of the world how far the "ancient Roman virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For "such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as, when Pyr-"rhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them "battle at their own doors, they gave him knowledge of "the treason intended against him by poison: whereas "these of a later race have employed Flaminius, a man "who hath heretofore been one of their consuls, to practise "with Prusias, contrary to the honour of a king, contrary "to his faith given, and contrary to the laws of hospitality, "to slaughter or deliver up his own guest." He then cursing the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his infidelity, drank off the poison, and died.

In this year also, (as good authors have reported,) to accompany Philopœmen and Hannibal, died Scipio the African: these being all of them as great captains as ever the world had, but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for Hannibal, whose tragedy we have now finished, had he been prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies as the war which he undertook required, it is probable that he had torn up the Roman empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crossed by a cowardly and envious faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting public force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve itself in his own, and in the common misery of his country and commonweal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals and jealousy of our masters, be they kings or commonweals,

that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war and great captains, being no kings. For, besides the envy and jealousy of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did Monluc the marshal of France confess, that "were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed were also infinite." Howsoever, this is true: that the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest commanders are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to fortune, or to the cowardice of the nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, and have surmounted their envy, yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we find many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, M. Livius, L. Æmilius, and this our Scipio, whom we have lately buried. Among the Greeks we read of not many that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a legacy that David bequeathed unto his victorious captain Joab. With this fare Alexander feasted Parmenio, Philotas, and others, and prepared it for Antipater and Cassander. Hereto Valentinian the emperor invited Ætius; who, after many other victories, overthrew Attila of the Huns in the greatest battle, for the well fighting and resolution of both armies, that ever was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides runaways, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the emperor by Proximus, that in killing of Ætius he had cut off his own right hand with his left; for it was not long after, that Maximus (by whose persuasion Valentinian slew Ætius) murdered the emperor, which he never durst attempt, Ætius living. And, besides the loss of that emperor, it is true, that, with Ætius, the glory of the western empire was rather dissolved than

obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse, had Belisarius, whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous: for he had his eyes torn out of his head by Justinian, and he died a blind beggar. Narses also, to the great prejudice of Christian religion, was disgraced by Justin. That rule of Cato against Scipio hath been well observed in every age since then; to wit, that the commonweal cannot be accounted free which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the Turks drawn another principle, and indeed a Turkish one, that every warlike prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did Bajazet the Second despatch Bassa Acomat; Selim strangle Bassa Mustapha; and most of those princes bring to ruin the most of their viziers. Of the Spanish nation, the great Gonsalvo, who drove the French out of Naples, and Ferdinando Cortes, who conquered Mexico, were crowned with nettles, not with laurel. The earls of Egmond and Horn had no heads left them to wear garlands on. And that the great captains of all nations have been paid with this copper coin, there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be said, that many have acquired the state of princes, kings, and emperors, by their great ability in matter of war. This I confess: yet must it be had withal in consideration, that these high places have been given, or offered, unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them by the help and favour of those armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, that the tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free cities, and the lieutenants of kings or emperors which have traitorously cast down their masters, and stepped up into their seats, were not all of them good men of war; but have used the advantage of some commotion; or many of them by base and cowardly practices have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtue, is far

more in seeming than in deed. Phocas was a soldier, and, by help of the soldiers, he got the empire from his lord Mauritius; but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of Mauritius, a prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by Heraclius, who took from him the imperial crown, unjustly gotten, and set it on his own head. Leontius laid hold upon the emperor Justin, cut off his nose and ears, and sent him into banishment; but God's vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment by the hands of Tiberius, to whose charge he had left his own men of war. Justin, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the same fashion. Philippicus, commanding the forces of Justin, murdered both the emperor and his son. Anastasius, the vassal of this new tyrant, surprised his master Philippicus, and thrust out both his eyes. But with Anastasius, Theodosius dealt more gently; for having wrested the sceptre out of his hands, he enforced him to become a priest. It were an endless and a needless work to tell how Leo rewarded this Theodosius; how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of captains to make themselves kings, have by God's justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving, by the practice of arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of enemies, and the liberality of those princes and cities in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course: for that observation made by Salomon, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all countries and ages: [u] *A little city, and few men in it; and a great king came against it, and compassed it about, and builded forts against it: and there was found a poor and wise man therein, and he delivered the city by his wisdom; but none remembered this poor*

[u] Eccles. ix. 14, 15.

man. Great monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits, which the unwiser sort of them think to savour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes cozened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free estates are bountiful in giving thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings; yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition, that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences have purloined somewhat from the common treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples; that of the two Scipios being so lately recited.

In my late sovereign's time, although, for the wars which for her own safety she was constrained to undertake, her majesty had no less cause to use the service of martial men both by sea and land, than any of her predecessors for many years had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the lord admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And that her majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her days never received dishonour, by the cowardice or infidelity of any commander by herself chosen and employed.

For as all her old captains by land died poor men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewry, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Cunstable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others; so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof Norice and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: those, I say, with many other brave colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputa-

tion which they purchased with many travails and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the lord Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berty lord Willoughby of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant commanders, they brought with them into the world their titles and estates.

That her majesty in the advancement of her men of war did sooner believe other men than herself, a disease unto which many wise princes, besides herself, have been subject; I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the actors are so unprosperous, and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify, a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use than themselves.

But his majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt: for besides the relieving by pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more martial men than all the kings of England have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a coronet to the lord Thomas Haward for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588, as at Cadiz, the Islands, and in our own seas; having first commanded as a captain, twice admiral of a squadron, and twice admiral in chief. His majesty hath changed the baronies of Montjoy and Burley into earldoms, and created Sidney viscount; Knollys, Russel, Carew, Danvers, Arundel of Warder, Gerald, and Chichester, barons, for their governments and services in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

SECT. III.

Philip making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His negotiation with the Bastarnæ. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his father's appointment. Philip repenteth him of his son's death, whom he findeth to have been innocent; and, intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

QUINTIUS MARTIUS, the Roman ambassador, who travailed up and down, seeking what work might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the senate to use the most of his diligence in looking into the estate of Macedon. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the fathers, that Philip had done whatsoever they enjoined him; yet so, as it might appear that such his obedience would last no longer than mere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, that all the doings and sayings of that king did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his kingdom into their own hands with safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means, or otherwise, (as to him seemed apparent,) by what means soever. He was in an ill case, as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of war with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part; yet he provided as well as he could devise against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into Emathia. The cities and country whence these were transplanted he filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were terrible to the Mace-

donians. Further, he devised upon alluring the Bastarnæ, a strong and hardy nation, that dwelt beyond the river of Danubius, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude; who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their country. These were like to do him notable service against the Romans; being not only stout fighting men, but such as, being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the Dardanians; a people always troublesome to the kingdom of Macedon whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter to persuade those Bastarnæ, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, unto a more desperate expedition, through Illyria, and the countries upon the Adriatic sea, into Italy itself. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way; rather it was thought, that the Scordisci, and peradventure some others, through whose countries they were to pass, would accompany them against the Romans, were it only in hope of spoil. Now, to facilitate the remove of these Bastarnæ from their own habitations into the land of the Dardanians, upon the border of Macedon, a long and tedious journey unto them that carried with them their wives and children, Philip with gifts did purchase the good-will of some Thracian princes, lords of the countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with help of the wild nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were known unto them, since he was not like to find assistance from any civil nation about the whole compass of the Mediterranean seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect; so as the Bastarnæ came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exercise of them in some small expeditions against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The families and whole townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained itself within words, he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived, which also he did unwillingly, being himself overruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow, but imputed all to traitorous malice, and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to die, among whom were some eminent men, and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses; which grew the more general, when the king, in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those parents whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto Demetrius, the king's younger son. It may well be, (though it may be also suspected,) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissension between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardliness of Demetrius, like as we find it in their histories. But their notable favour towards this young prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the father's head. If any

custom of the Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the town of Rome, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk, Demetrius was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their ambassadors, as often as they came, gave his father cause to think that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder son Perseus; who, fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction that grace which he had with his father. Perseus was then thirty years old, of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour: Demetrius was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the king having entertained such suspicions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A muster, and ceremonious lustration of the army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus: they cleft in twain a bitch, and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the army was to pass. This done, the arms of all the kings of Macedon, from the very first original, were borne before the army. Then followed the king between his two sons; after him came his own band, and they of his guard, whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the army was divided into two parts, which, under the king's two sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using poles, and the like, instead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory, whether happening by chance, or whether the two captains did over-earnestly seek each to

get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until Perseus's side at length recoiled. Perseus himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage; but his friends were glad, and thought that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort; who perceiving which way the king's favour bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led unto his own ruin, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of Demetrius would afford matter of complaint against him, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the other's lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of Perseus's intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of Demetrius's men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, Demetrius told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brother's man; yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them also to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly, to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to Perseus, who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. Demetrius wondered to see himself excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But Perseus, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king: the elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alleged, and in effect the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which

did aggravate all the rest, was, that Demetrius had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the Romans, by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For Perseus made show as if the Romans did hate him, because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause, he said, it was, that they did animate his brother against him; as also that they sought how to win unto Demetrius the love of the Macedonians. For proof hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from T. Quintius to the king himself, whereof the contents were, that he had done wisely in sending Demetrius to Rome, and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of Macedonian lords. Hence he enforced, that this counsel was given by Titus of purpose to shake the allegiance of those that should wait upon his brother to Rome, and make them, forgetting their duties to their old king, become servants to this young traitor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them; bitterly reprehending Perseus, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brother's death. As for the love which the Romans did bear him, he said that it grew, if not from his own virtue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof, so as by any impious practice he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, besides those that are common to all plaintiffs and defendants, before ordinary judges. The king pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, that he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hour's audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may

seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to Perseus, using so little conference with his younger son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to have him present nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between Demetrius and T. Quintius, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent ambassadors to Rome, Philocles and Apelles, men whom he thought no way interessed in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by Titus (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the king. The contents whereof were, a deprecation of the young prince, with an intimation, as by way of granting it, that his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect, for that Titus himself would not be author or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly persuade the king to think his son a dangerous traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demetrius in custody, made show as if he had pitied the estate of the unhappy prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to fly secretly to Rome, where he might hope, not only to live in safety from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood than he could find at home of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the crown of Macedon. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falsehood of Didas, who, playing on both hands, offered unto the prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the king. So Philip resolved to put his son to death, without further expense of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as proof

sufficient, at least of the king's despite against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his king's unadvised sentence first gave poison to Demetrius; which wrought neither so hastily nor so secretly as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of ruffians to finish the tragedy, who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of Antigonus there had not been found a king that had thus cruelly dealt with any prince of his own blood. The houses of Lysimachus and Cassander fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels, by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred had almost been cut off the lines of Ptolomy and of Seleucus; which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart family of the kings of Pergamus had raised itself to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of mere slavery, whereof a principal cause was the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was Philip ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do, not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage wherewith king Antigonus's tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature, and therefore unmeet to be a good persuader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloodthirsty appetite he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own, did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poison. After the death of his

son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected, and to weigh them in a more equal balance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining son Perseus could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no less to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting sun. As for old Philip, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the king a deep melancholy, and filled his head with suspicious imaginations, the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed, and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a cousin of his, named Antigonus, continued so true to Philip, that he grew thereby hateful to Perseus; and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the king, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against Perseus would not vent itself, and give ease to the king, until the truth were known, whether Demetrius were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that Philocles and Apelles (the ambassadors which had brought from Rome that epistle of Flaminius, that served as the greatest evidence against Demetrius) were suspected of forgery in the business, made diligent inquiry after the truth. In thus doing, he found one Xychus, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those ambassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the court,

and presented unto the king, saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. Xychus, for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected, confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the ambassadors in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the father's passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withal against the authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, Apelles fled away, and got into Italy. Philocles was taken, and either, forasmuch as he could not deny it when Xychus confronted him, yielded himself guilty, or else was put to torture. Perseus was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the country, yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his father's presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdom, towards Thrace, whilst his father wintered at Demetrias. Philip therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious son, took a resolution to alien the kingdom from him, and confer it upon Antigonus. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel hereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature: he had reigned about two and forty years, always full of trouble, as vexed by others, and vexing himself, with continual wars, of which that with the Romans was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverse condition, since his uncle king Antigonus had left unto him an estate, so great and so well settled, as made it easy for him to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished, by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a king, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was

foresignified unto Perseus by Calligenes the physician, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the court. So Perseus came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the kingdom, which, in fine, he no less improvidently lost than he had wickedly gotten.

SECT. IV.

How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans; and how they suffered Masinissa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrel with Perseus. They allow not their confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of Philip came the Bastarnæ into Thrace, where order had been taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnity of the country. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was known than that Philip did live, to recompense all that should be done or sustained for his service. But when it was heard that a new king reigned in Macedon, and not heard withal that he took any care what became of the enterprise, then was all dashed and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford so good markets unto these strangers as formerly they had done. On the other side, the Bastarnæ would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers: thus each part, having lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip, grew careful of thriving in the present, with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while, they fell to blows, and the Bastarnæ had the upper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plain countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune: for whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength, or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them, as it were, miraculously, all of them returned

home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careless using of some victories they drew loss upon themselves, and finally took that occasion to follow their companions back into their own country.

As for Perseus he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himself in a war so dangerous as that with the Romans was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of Antigonus. To win love of his people, he sat personally to hear their causes in judgment, (though herein he was so over diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of justice to be no better than feigned,) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of war with Rome, and therefore made it his first work to send ambassadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the senate saluted king, and friend unto the state. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good-will of the Greeks, and other his neighbours; but was rather herein so excessively bountiful, that it may seem a wonder, how in few years, to his utter ruin, he became so griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the mastering passion which overruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requisite no more than the relation of his actions past and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, busy in wars against the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered Istria, subdued the rebelling Sardinians, and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore

(as ever since the victory) a heavy hand, and suffered Masinissa to take from them what he listed. The Carthaginians, like obedient vassals to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms, from which they were bound by an article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Masinissa therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining ambassadors could be at Rome; and then were the Romans not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the country of Emporia; and so did he use them again and again, with pretence of title, where he had any, otherwise without it. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had won some land from the Carthaginians, which afterward Syphax won from Gala, and within a while restored to the right owners, for love of his wife Sophonisba, and of Asdrubal his father-in-law. This did Masinissa take from them by force, and by the Romans, to whose judgment the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience how beneficial it was for their estate to use all manner of submissive obedience to Rome. They had scarcely digested this injury, when Masinissa came upon them again, and took from them above seventy towns and castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their ambassadors they made lamentable complaint unto the Roman senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their league; that they should not make war out of their own lands, nor with any confederates of the Romans. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of Masinissa invading their country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his; yet since he was confederate with the Romans, they durst not presume to bear defensive arms against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the Romans' indignation: wherefore they entreated, that either they might have fairer justice, or be suffered to de-

fend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, that the Romans yet would be pleased to determine how far forth Masinissa should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they that the Romans would let them understand wherein they had offended since the time that Scipio gave them peace, and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should think meet; for that better, and more to their comfort, it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such judges, than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath than at the mercy of this Numidian hangman. And herewithal the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to move compassion. Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the Barchines, of their irresolution in prosecuting a war so important as Hannibal made for them in Italy, and of their halfpenny-worthing, in matter of expense, when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men whose fathers they had often chased, slain, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the streets of Carthage, and in all cities of Afric and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace which Hanno so often and so earnestly desired; only they want peace with Masinissa, once their mercenary, and now their master, or rather their tormentor, out of whose cruel hands they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have been their own. But the Romans had far better entreated Varro, who lost the battle at Cannæ, than Hannibal, that won it, was used by the Carthaginians: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the commonwealth, and employed their labours for the public without craving recompense, as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an army into Spain, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These

were no Carthaginian virtues, and therefore the Carthaginians, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration, yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the Romans, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with Masinissa, which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with Rome: wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms; but contrariwise, when without leave obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easy punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer, though they had otherwise little amends. Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, was then in Rome, and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the senate, where he was demanded the reason of his coming, and had related unto him the complaint made by the Carthaginians against his father. He answered, that his father, not being throughly aware of any ambassadors thither sent from Carthage, had therefore not given him instructions how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the Carthaginians had held counsel divers nights in the temple of Æsculapius, whereupon he himself was despatched away to Rome, there to entreat the senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his father might not be overmuch trusted, especially against his father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the senate replied, that for Masinissa's sake they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the covenants of the league were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed Gulussa, bestowing on him friendly presents, (as also they did on the Carthaginians,) and willing him to tell his father, that he should do well to

send ambassadors more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian war was even ready to begin; at which time the Romans were not willing too much to offend, either the Carthaginians (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or Masinissa, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians and Masinissa; by the Carthaginians, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by Masinissa, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all Afric round about him and Carthage therewithal should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the Romans had not been unmindful of Perseus: they visited him daily with ambassadors, that is, with honourable spies, to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First, they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania, neither would they take any satisfaction, until the Bastarnæ were thence gone, though he protested that he had not sent for them. Afterward, they pried narrowly into his doings, and were no less ill contented with good offices by him done to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs which they said that he did unto other some: where he did harm to any, they called it making war upon their friends; where he did good, they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain,) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew Euphranor, whom he had appointed their governor. It seems that Euphranor had played the tyrant among them; for they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian, and therefore unlikely to have presumed so far, unless either they had been extremely provoked, or else were secretly animated by the Romans. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, Perseus did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the Romans took very angrily this presumption of the

king, even as if he had invaded some country of their Italian confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians, whereto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of Masinissa, though Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect they told him, that conditions of the league between them were such, as made it unlawful, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their license first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the Greeks, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entered into league with them upon equal terms, whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of arms, without seeking first the oracle at Rome. Hereof the Achæans had good experience, whose confidence in their proper strength made them other whiles bold to be their own carvers, and whose hope of extraordinary favour at Rome caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrament. For when they went about to have chastised the Messenians by war, T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking such a work in hand without his authority; yet by his authority he ended the matter wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the Romans: who nevertheless, upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive, especially in usurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the imperial city. In learning this [x] hard lesson, they were such untoward scholars, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their masters: for the Roman senate, being desirous to humble the Achæans,

[x] Polyb. Legat. 51. et 53.

refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the league between them, but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, that the enemy might not be supplied from Italy with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of Greece, pronounced openly, that if the Argives, Lacedæmonians, or Corinthians, would revolt from the Achæans, they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of Philopœmen, at what time it was believed that the commonwealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distress, were it not upheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding, when Lycortas, pretor of the Achæans, had utterly subdued the Messenians far sooner than was expected, and when as not only no town rebelled from the Achæans, but many entered into their corporation, then did the Romans, with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same ambassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer, (and who as yet were not gone out of the city,) that they had straitly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a feigned gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition, both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a sovereign power in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates, not permitting any of them to make war, whether offensive or defensive, though it were against mere strangers, without interposing the authority of the senate and people of Rome; unless peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these Roman arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them, yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent city in Greece, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor

power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence, that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, until the war of Mithridates, being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent, yet bearing a part in many great actions, as gratulators of the Roman victories, and pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other commonweals and kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands from consuming by piecemeal, they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once: especially the Macedonian, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the Greeks began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to break.

Neither Perseus nor the Romans were ignorant how the Greeks at this time stood affected. Perseus, by reason of his near neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him in their affairs. He well knew that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopœmen had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced by the Roman patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious; wherefore, though none of them had the courage, in matters of the public, to fall out with the Romans, yet all of them had the care to choose among themselves none other magistrates, than such as affected the good of their country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestical conspiracies would soon be at an end, when honesty and love of the commonweal became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of Greece,

the Romans were not throughly advertised; either because things were diligently concealed from their ambassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such traitors (of whom every city in Greece had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the ambassadors themselves, being all senators, and capable of the greatest office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The Achæans being to send ambassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the senate, and inform the senate better in the same business, chose one Callicrates, among others, to go in that embassage. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the advantage which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal public. For this Callicrates was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore, instead of well discharging his credence, and alleging what was meetest in justification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale, and strongly encouraged the Romans to oppress both the Achæans and all the rest of Greece with a far more heavy hand. He told the senate, that it was high time for them to look unto the settling of their authority, among his froward countrymen, if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custom to stand upon points of confederacy and laws, as if these were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from Rome notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the Achæans, both now and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses, as if it

were enough to say, that by some condition of league, or by force of some law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills, who ceased not to affirm, that no columns or monuments erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole nation, to ratify the observance of confederacy or statute, ought to be of force, when the Romans willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the Romans themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular estates the sound of liberty used to be more plausible than any discourse tending against it; yet, if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing to procure their own good, the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction: it was therefore strange how the fathers could so neglect the advancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the Greeks; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours upon men otherwise of little account or desert, only for having uttered some brave words against the Romans. The fathers, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends to make their party strong, resolved to follow this good counsel in every point, yea, to depress all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end [y] they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Achæans, than had been their manner in former times, but wrote at the present unto all cities of Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedæmon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of Callicrates, they advised all men to be such, and so affected as he was, in their several commonweals. With this despatch, Callicrates returned home a joy-

[y] Polyb. Legat. 78.

ful man, having brought his country into the way of ruin, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the senate: only he so reported his embassage, that all men became fearful of the danger wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts he obtained to be made pretor of the Achæans; in which magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his patrons.

Now, as the Romans by threatening terms won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends, so Perseus on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts and hopeful promises to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies, got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the cities of Greece distracted with factions, some holding with the Romans, some with the Macedonian, and some few respecting only the good of the estates wherein they lived. Hereat the lords of the senate were highly offended, and thought it an indignity not sufferable, that a king, no better than their vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses, whereof, if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make war upon him. Perseus having finished his business among the Dolopians, made a journey to Apollo's temple at Delphi. He took his army along with him, yet went and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way he dealt himself; to such as lay further off he sent ambassadors, or letters, praying them, that the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father, since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hos-

tility in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken such a journey without their license, this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the Achæans, which his father had so lost, that by a solemn decree they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousy perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them at the first to make such a decree: for howsoever Philip had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two Arati, given them cause to abhor him; yet in the public administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length without any general consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate and hold intelligence with any in a country towards him so doubtfully affected; especially when by hearkening to his messages they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhuman; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the Achæans reaped no good fruit: for although they were not in like sort forbidden the kingdom of Macedon, yet, understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers, exceedingly to the loss of such as made of their slaves very profitable use. But Perseus took hold upon this occasion, as fitly serving to pacify those whose enmity fain he would have changed into love: he therefore apprehended all these fugitives to send them home again, and wrote unto the Achæans, that as, for good-will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily un-

derstood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part, being openly rehearsed by the pretor before the council. But Callicrates took the matter very angrily, and bade them be advised what they did, for that this was none other than a plain device to make them depart from the friendship of the Romans. Herewithal he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Achæans beforehand acquainted with the war that was coming upon Perseus from Rome. He told them how Philip had made preparations for the same war, how Demetrius had been made away because of his good affection to the Romans, and how Perseus had, since his being king, done many things tending to the breach of peace. Briefly he rehearsed all those matters which were afterwards alleged by the Romans; the invasion of the Bastarnæ upon the Dardanians, the king's journey against the Dolopians, his voyage to Delphi, and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was, he said, a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not overhastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Hereto good answer was made by the pretor's brother, that Callicrates was too earnest in so light a matter, and that, being neither one of the king's cabinet, nor of the Roman senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known that Perseus had renewed his league with the Romans, that he was by them saluted king and friend to the estate, and that he had lovingly entertained their ambassadors. This being so, why might not the Achæans, as well as the Ætolians, Thessalians, Epirots, and all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence as common humanity required? Nevertheless Callicrates was grown a man so terrible by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation, and answer made the whilst, that since the king had only sent a letter, without any ambassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient.

But when Perseus, herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send ambassadors, then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience; which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived: for hearkening to this advice of Callicrates they were soon after highly commended by a Roman ambassador; whereby it became apparent, that the Romans intended war upon the [z] Macedonian, though hitherto no cause of war was given.

SECT. V.

How Eumenes king of Pergamus was busied, with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian, whom he accuseth to the Roman senate. The senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian ambassadors. Perseus's attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus's device to poison some of the Roman senators; whereupon they decree war against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this war.

EUMENES king of Pergamus had been troubled, about these times, by the kings Pharnaces and Mithridates, his neighbours. He had taken the right course, in making first his complaint to the Romans, by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, [a] that they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the kings Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the war himself, and brought his enemies to seek and accept peace on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure, he began to consider how the affairs of Macedon stood under Perseus. His hatred to Perseus was very great; and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his enemy, was as great, and withal notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the Macedonian, it vexed him exceedingly, that his own honours

[z] Livy, lib. 42. [a] Polyb. Legat. 56. et 59.

(whereof the Greeks, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax every where stale; whilst Perseus, either by his currying favour, or by the envy borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignity, he stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians, his old friends; and in helping these rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open war. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge. The Lycians could not be saved, by his patronage, from severe and cruel chastisement given to them by the Rhodians. This rendered him contemptible; as likewise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. [b] As for his honours in the cities of Greece, they not only continued falling into neglect, but were abrogated by a decree of the Achæans, as too unmeasured, misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. [c] All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the Romans, and for his malice to that noble kingdom, which if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty against such an adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had overtopped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the Romans utterly to take away from the eyes of men this idol, the Macedonian kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter to persuade those that were already desirous; rather he was like to be highly thanked for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some piece of the kingdom, as he had been rewarded for the like service, when Antiochus was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to Rome, where though he had little to say which they knew not before,

[b] Polyb. Legat. 74. [c] Livy, lib. 42.

yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty, and so pondered by the fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance that before was equal. The death of Demetrius, the expedition of the Bastarnæ into Dardania; that of Perseus himself against the Dolopians, and to Delphi; the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his intermeddling in business of his neighbours; his riches, and his great provisions, were all the material points of Eumenes's discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a spy. He said, that Perseus had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse of his own; money in a readiness to entertain ten thousand mercenaries for ten years; arms to furnish a number thrice as great; the Thracians, his friends, at hand, ready at a call to bring him soldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own subjects. Herewithal he prayed them to consider, that king Seleucus, the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, had given his daughter Laodice in marriage to Perseus; Perseus not wooing, but Seleucus offering the match; that king Prusias of Bithynia, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the sister of Perseus; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loath to utter it plainly,) that even the envy to their estate was the cause why many, that could not endure to hear of amity with Philip, were now grown marvellously well affected to his son. All this, and some facts of Perseus, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romans; and that he had expelled Abrypolis the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his kingdom or lordship,) Eumenes failed not to amplify unto the most; saying that he thought it his duty to forewarn them, since it would be to himself a great shame, if Perseus got the start of him, and were in Italy making war [illegible]

Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly to believe that the Romans stood in fear of Perseus, lest he should set upon them in Italy. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make war without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended, great thanks were given to Eumenes, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour to beautify their intendment. Now though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before; yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater: for if, upon any relation made by their own ambassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them, their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a prince as Eumenes came out of his own kingdom, as far as from Asia, to bid them look to themselves, who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity in concealing what Eumenes had uttered in the senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known, helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian ambassadors were at Rome, provided of answers to the words which they knew beforehand that he would speak, and with matter of recrimination. The vanity either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all; when the wariness of the fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable show of some fearful apprehension, against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the Rhodian ambassadors, who accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome to Asia than Antiochus had ever been, and a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great

pomp conveyed by sea unto Perseus his bride Laodice; which friendly office, as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans despitefully accepted. [d] Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes, ambassadors came from Rome with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion: for the senate pronounced, that it stood not with the manner of the Romans to alien quite from their own protection any [e] people or nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them assigned unto those of Rhodes, not as mere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten ambassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia after the victory against king Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Masinissa, the Ætolians, and all other kings or estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves aggrieved, if they well considered the matter; since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the senate; though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the senate, which was only to plague the Rhodians, for their good-will to Perseus, by setting them and the Lycians together by the ears. The fathers could therefore see no reason to dislike Eumenes, upon this complaint made by the Rhodian ambassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the king so much the more; for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to Rome.

But the Macedonian embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily; though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken to pacify them with gentle words and excuses, now heard they plainer language, and were told, that king Perseus desired much to give them satisfaction concerning any deed or word of his that might savour

[d] Polyb. Legat. 60. et 61. [e] Livy, lib. 41.

of hostility; but that, if his travail in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of war, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of Harpalus, that was chief of the ambassadors, rather than from instruction given by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why Perseus himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a show of daring, than he was like to do by any submission: for the eyes of all Greece being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman servitude, it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his ambassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the king's own heat, it appears by his daring to adventure, soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the Romans, and give them fairer show of reason to make war upon him. It was known that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there do sacrifice to Apollo. Perseus deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to waylay him, and, by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout ruffians to do the murder, who placing themselves behind a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the sea to the temple, did thence assault the king, whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such

haste, that they killed one of their own companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. Eumenes was conveyed away to the little isle of Ægina, where he was cured; being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came, that his brother Attalus took upon him as king, and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it, belike, a matter of state) Stratonica, the daughter of king Ariarathes, whom he then thought the widow of Eumenes. It may well be numbered among the rare examples of brotherly love, that, when the king returned alive home, Attalus going forth to meet him, and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than "that he should "forbear to marry with the queen, until he were well assured "of the king's death." More than this, Eumenes never spake of these matters; but bequeathed, at his death, unto the same brother, both his wife and kingdom. As likewise Attalus forebore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother; though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especial favour, when Eumenes fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the kingdom from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the kingdom of Pergamus raised and upheld, as might also that of Macedon have been, if Demetrius had lived, and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of Perseus.

It is likely that Perseus was very glad when he understood that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that Eumenes lived; so was he beguiled in that other hope of the concealment, which he vainly esteemed the less material: for he had written to one Praxo, a gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business; and she, being apprehended by C. Valerius, a Roman ambassador then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one Rammius, a citizen of

Brundusium, who, coming newly from the court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the ambassador, and thereof discharged himself. Brundusium was the ordinary port for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had Rammius a fair house, wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to ambassadors, and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to Perseus, and invited into Macedon with friendly letters, as one, whose many courtesies to his ambassadors the king was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the king's secrets. The sum of all was, that he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the Romans as the king should hereafter name, a poison of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment, for fear lest the virtue of this medicine should be tried upon himself. But, being once at liberty, he discovered all. Rammius was but one man, and one whom the king had never seen before, nor was like to see again; and therefore, besides that the king's denial ought to be as good as such a fellow's affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did Perseus, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon Eumenes; denying to have had any hand either in the one or other; yet withal professing, that such objections were not to be made unto a king, to prove the rightfulness of making war upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoever the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easy) than any that we find by them produced, yet the base and cowardly temper of Perseus was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him, these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his royal estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no

privilege, they judging him to have offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason: for if he might not lawfully make war upon Eumenes their confederate, that is, if he might not send men to waste the kingdom of Pergamus, or to besiege the towns, might he send ruffians to murder the king? If it were no less breach of the league, to destroy the senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword; was it lawful for him to do it by poison? Wherefore they presently decreed war against him; and sent ambassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seems, at this time, to have been so confident in the general favour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances, that, if he desired not war, yet he did not fear it; or at least he thought by show of courage to make his enemies the more calm. He caused the ambassadors to dance attendance, till, being weary, they departed without audience: then called he them back, and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him; adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference, in the isle of Samothrace, with ambassadors sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction, as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence brought against him by Rummius and Praxo: for if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build, of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a king to be strong, well-beloved, and well-friended. Perseus answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily ambassadors, that were no better then mere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer; which was to this effect: that he would no longer stand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but

wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the league between Philip and the Romans, as it is set down by [f]Polybius, we find no condition binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed. But [g]Livy inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace, whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entering shortly into league with Rome, did so bind the king's hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would urge this point further, and say that the Macedonian might not bear defensive arms without their permission, then had Perseus very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without control, to make war in Thrace, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the Thracians,) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their license, why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? by such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very mild sort, when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as unjust, he ministered occasion unto the ambassadors to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution: for if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the enemy

[f] Polyb. Legat. 9. [g] Liv. l. 33.

was unprepared; not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

SECT. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greeks to join with them in the war against Perseus. How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timorousness of Perseus. Martius, a Roman ambassador, deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Thessaly. The forces of Licinius the Roman consul, and what assistants the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had, but lost by his fear. Perseus braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus, having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the country lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman commanders unfortunate in the war against Perseus. They vex the Greeks their friends, for whose ease the senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they have been ready for it when it came, and not (as they were) behindhand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the war; whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their cause honest in common opinion was not to be neglected, though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strength was such as would prevail in the end, they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help towards examining the disposition of the Greeks, and others, who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good-will. There was not indeed any cause to fear that all of the Greeks, or other eastern people, should conspire to-

ther, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissension between their several estates, howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless ambassadors were sent to deal with them all, and to crave their help against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner than heretofore they had yielded it against Philip and Antiochus, in wars pretending the liberty of Greece. The ambassadors used as gentle words, for fashion's sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now grown well acquainted with such Roman courtesy; and understood, that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans; [h] the Achæans and Rhodians, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set up the side whereof they gladly would have seen the ruin. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to Perseus; of the nobles and rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their country, wished better to Perseus than to the Romans. And of this number Polybius, the chief of historians, was one; who, though he [i] judged the victory of Perseus like to prove hurtful unto Greece, yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greeks might recover perfect liberty; for his endeavours in which course he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the imperial city, made the Achæans, and other estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of Perseus himself.

[h] Polyb. Legat. 73. 78. et 80. [i] Polyb. Legat. 77.

He had undertaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought over sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy fair, and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known that every small thing would serve to terrify him, and consequently that it should at all times be in the Romans' power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him, little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his army, taking by force or composition some few towns, and soliciting all to join with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled: for at the same time he sought all means of pacification, and to that end made humble suit unto the Roman ambassadors. Q. Martius, the chief of those ambassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the Romans, made show of inclination to the king's desire, and gave out such comfortable words, that the king entreated, and obtained a meeting at the river Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the king, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned: whereto though Perseus made none other answer than the same which they could have made for him, yet the ambassadors, and especially Martius, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied, and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martius his desire, which was to make the king lose time. For Perseus had all things then in readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman army could have been in Greece: but by the interposition of this truce he no way increased his forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the enemy to slip away, and obtained in recompense nothing else than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with some victory; publishing a copy of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby

he gave men to understand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He sent ambassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good-will to him he was best persuaded, not only to let them know how much he was superior in cause, but to entreat them, that they would take upon them, as moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poor helps: for hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of honour was no better than mere vanity; his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the Greeks, who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessity that was partly their own, had it not been his office, who took upon him as their champion, to give such a manly beginning to the war as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him, and were careful not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partisans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Bœotians also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the Macedonian, renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans; to whom further, in a sort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was Martius contented to accept their submission under a general form, but caused their several towns to make covenant apart, each for itself; to the end that, being thus distracted into many little commonweals, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the city of Thebes. This work, of separating the Bœotians from Thebes their head, was more than Agesilaus could effect, or Epaminondas would suffer then, when all Greece followed the Lacedæmonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of Epaminondas and a few brave

citizens, than was the society with king Perseus against a number not so great as followed the Lacedæmonians.

Martius brought this to effect whilst the king sat still, as being bound by the truce; and having done this, he returned to the city; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the senate, with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the ambassadors which Perseus had sent, audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their master was deluded; but neither excuse nor entreaty would serve their turn, the senate being resolved beforehand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the city, and had thirty days' respite allowed them to depart out of Italy; whereas they who came last on the same errand did their message without the walls, in the temple of Bellona, (the usual place of giving audience to open enemies, or to such commanders as might not, by reason of some custom, enter the city,) and had only the short warning of eleven days to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poor courtesy serve alone to hide the craft of Martius, as if he had meant none other than good earnest; but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from Perseus the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out: for Licinius, the Roman consul, was at Apollonia, in a manner, as soon as the Macedonian ambassadors were with their king at Pella. Which though it were enough to have roused Perseus, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good-will with some part of his kingdom, that so he might enjoy the rest, than to put all at once to hazard. But, finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the war had not begun until now, to do what should have been done long

afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their rendezvous at Citium, a town in Macedon. All being in readiness, he did royal sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what Minerva, that was peculiarly honoured in his country; and then, with all his courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; whereof about twelve thousand foot and a thousand horse were strangers of sundry nations, most part Thracians, the rest his own Macedonians. These he animated with lively speeches, laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolency of the Romans, the goodness of his cause, the greatness of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their several abilities: he gave them thanks, but answered, that his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him carts for his engines and munition.

Out of his own kingdom he issued forth into Thessaly, knowing that the Romans were to pass through that country in their journey towards him. Some towns of Thessaly opened their gates unto him without making offer to defend themselves; some he baulked, thinking them too strong or well-manned, and some he won by force. Of these last was Mylæ, a town thought impregnable, and therefore not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally, which the townsmen rashly made, and, being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entered pell-mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here, to the greater terror of the obstinate. So Velatiæ and Connus (towns of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the straits of Ossa, leading into Tempe) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to

Sycurium, a town seated on the foot of mount Ossa, where he rested a while, expecting news of the enemy.

Licinius the consul brought with him only two Roman legions, being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, came to him in Thessaly, with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aid as the several estates could afford, or thought expedient to send, which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad, Masinissa sent thither his son Misagenes, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty elephants. Ariarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinity with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young son, there to be brought up; yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because Eumenes himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. Prusias was content to be a looker on, as being allied to Perseus, and yet fearing the Romans. Antiochus and Ptolomy (though Ptolomy was then young, and under tutors) had business of their own; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian, yet each of them promised help to the Romans; which they cared not to perform. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith M. Lucretius, the Roman admiral's brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good-will. This king had four and fifty ships riding in the haven of Dyrrachium, uncertain to what purpose; all which Lucretius took away, after a very kind sort, making show to believe, that for none other end than to serve the Romans their good friend Gentius had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever Gentius thought in the beginning, he foolishly lost both his kingdom and himself in the end of this war, by offering, rather than giving, his help to Perseus.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea, Licinius came into Thessaly, so tired with a painful journey through the mountainous country of Athamania

which stood in his way from Epirus, that if Perseus had been ready, attending his descent into the plains, the Romans must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied army by the river Peneus, where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help that could enable him to deal with Perseus: therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased; contenting himself in the mean while to have gotten quiet entrance into the country. The land of Thessaly, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans than any part of Greece besides, as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to man's life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the east, was that beautiful valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of itself was not great, but adding to it those huge mountains Ossa and Olympus, (famous in poesy,) with their spurs, or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed, it occupied the better part of Thessaly. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon, unless they would make an hungry journey through the country of the Dassaretians, as in the former war with Philip they had long in vain attempted to do. Perseus therefore had no small advantage, by being master of the straits leading into Tempe, though far greater he might have had, if by misspending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountains he were able to put the Romans often to the worse, yea to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation; questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the straits of Aous, which his father once kept, and defended all the country behind the mountains of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficulty must the Romans

have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of seas that were very dangerous, if they would have sought other way into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece; upon neither of which courses they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present war. It may perhaps be said, that the Greeks and others, whom the king must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home: but they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had been to his father in the former war. The Ætolians, upon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with Perseus. The Bœotians, how politicly soever Martius had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the Macedonian's quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea, and Eumenes himself, after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with Perseus than they had expected. So that if, instead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace, he had raised their hopes by any brave performance in the beginning, and increased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought down with money (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and among them Eumenes, who offered for good recompense to forget his broken head; then might the Romans perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over Greece, and to render the liberty, by them given, entire, which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But, as a fearful company running from their enemies, till some river stay their flight, are there compelled by mere desperation to do such acts, as, done while the battle lasted, would have won the victory; so fell it out with Perseus. In seeking to avoid the [redacted]

war, whereof he should have sought the honour, he left his friends, that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety; yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the mountains of Tempe, and defend himself with his proper forces, than to be driven into such misery as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that he kept his footing in Thessaly, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished; wherefore we must be contented with the sum.

The consul, having no desire to fight until such time as all his forces were arrived, kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the river of Peneus, about three miles from Larissa. That which persuaded the consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the king to put the matter unto a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the Romans into the field, by wasting the land of the Pheræans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity, he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches; out of which if they issued, it was likely that his advantage in horse would make the victory his own. At his coming they were troubled, for that it was sudden; yet no way terrified, as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of king Eumenes's horse, and with them some light-armed foot, to entertain skirmish. The captain, and some other of these, were slain, but no matter of importance done; for that neither Licinius nor Eumenes found it reasonable to hazard battle. Thus, day after day, a while together, Perseus continued offering battle, which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much increased, and much more his reputation; to the grief of those who, being so far come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame that fell upon them by their enduring these bravodoes. The town of Sycurium, where Perseus then lay, was twelve miles from the Romans; neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning; but he was fain to bring water along with him in carts, that his

men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven miles nearer to the enemy, whom he visited the next day by the sun rising. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult, insomuch as though he brought with him only his horse and light armature, that were unfit to assail the trenches, yet the consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother C. Licinius, king Eumenes, Attalus, and many brave captains, with all his power of horse, his velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to try their fortune, he himself remaining in the camp, with his legions in readiness. The honour of this morning was the Macedonian king's, for he obtained the victory in a manner entire, (though the Thessalians made a good retreat,) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere night, by hearkening, as princes commonly do, to counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the Romans were in great fear, lest he should assault their camp, and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his phalanx was brought unto him by the captains, though unsent for; he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base, to work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends: yet had it been greater, and had he won the Roman camp, his friends would have been the more and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace; and in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the Romans, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number: of their foot

he had slain about two thousand, losing of his own no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The Roman camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear, it being much doubted that the enemy would set upon it. Eumenes gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the river Peneus. The consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood, yet thought it better to acknowledge the loss past, than, by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the river in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The Ætolians were sorely blamed for this loss, as if rather a traitorous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Greeks followed them. Five of them, that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs, an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the Thessalians, their virtue was honoured with reward, so as the Greeks might learn, by examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their lords the Romans, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the consul and his army. Perseus came the next day to correct the former day's error, which how great it was, he not until then found. The Romans were gotten into a place of safety, whither they could never have attained, if the king had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night; his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The Romans were beaten, even the flower of their city, the gentlemen of Rome; out of whom were chosen their senators, and consequently the generals themselves, pretors, consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such

brave words did the king set out the glory of his action, dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopselus, a place in the midway between Tempe and Larissa, as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily persuaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the consul, and offered to yield unto the same conditions, wherein his father had been bound to the Romans, if the war might so take end. It were needless here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst ambassadors might go to Rome; it resting in the senate and people to approve the conditions, and ratify the league. And of such a truce granted by Martius, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and returned answer, that other hope of peace there was none, save that Perseus would yield both his kingdom and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in Perseus, that, having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he so much desired could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himself back to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the enemy did, whose forces were well repaired by the coming of Misagenes, the son of Masinissa, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the king and them caused the Romans to wax the more bold in making their harvest, about which business they ranged over all the fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit, which he attempted, both upon their camp and upon those that were abroad. The camp he thought to have fired on the sudden; but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the foragers, he had a [redacted]

upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the consul, by whom, either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diverse) in a great battle, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused Perseus, after a few days, to fall back into Macedon, as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was, whereby what loss he felt will appear hereafter. He left all behiud him, save only Tempe, weakly guarded, and consequently an easy prey to the Romans.

After the king's departure, Licinius went straight unto Connus, hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the work too hard, he returned back upon the Perrhæbians and others, from whom he won some towns, and among the rest Larissa. There were sundry towns thereabout bearing the same name of Larissa; so that this which the consul took may seem not to have belonged unto the Thessalians, unless, perhaps, after his victory Perseus did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of Thessaly.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account, for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may think it strange that the Bœotians, whom a Roman ambassador could terrify, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a Roman army, then on foot in Greece, and a navy on their coast. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of Martius, were more true to Rome than other petty towns, which, by that same distraction of the Bœotians, became within themselves more absolute than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been sought among the changes happening in their variable factions, whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by Lucretius the Roman admiral, who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like sort, if by extreme oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither was Licinius the consul undiligent in

the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from Perseus, I find no where mentioned. Only this is said in general, that in the war which he made he [k] cruelly and covetously demeaned himself.

After the same fashion dealt they that commanded in the year following; Hostilius the consul, and Hortensius the admiral, or pretor of the fleet. Hostilius shewed more of his industry in picking quarrels with the confederates of Rome than in prosecuting the war against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman war upon his kingdom, after that the consul had sought passage in vain over certain mountains, Perseus seemed, in a manner, [l] free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards Illyria, by Ap. Claudius, whom the consul sent thither with an army of four thousand, and who, by levies made upon the confederates, doubled this his army. But Claudius, thinking to have taken Uscana, a border town of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such careless order, that the inhabitants, which had made show of treason with purpose only to train him into danger, sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this town of Uscana shortly after became Roman; which howsoever it happened, Perseus very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithal; Cotys, a Thracian king, securing him on the one side of Macedon; and Cephalus, an Epirot, revolted from the Romans, on the other. Perseus likewise made a painful journey into Ætolia, where he was promised to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest city in that region. Of this hope, though he were disappointed by those of the Roman faction, yet in his return home, he took in Aperantia; and shortly heard good news, that Ap. Claudius was again throughly beaten by Clevas, one of his lieutenants. Such success had the Macedonian war under Hostilius. The same consul offended much the Greeks, by the strict inquisition which his ambassadors made into men's affection towards Rome; for these ambassadors, travelling

[k] Liv. l. 43. [l] Polyb. Legat. 70.

through all the cities of Peloponnesus, gave out speeches tending to shew, that they liked no better of those who sought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the Macedonian faction[m]. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the parliament of Achaia, Lycortas, that worthy commander, who nobly followed the steps of Philopœmen; and together with him, his son Polybius, who soon after was general of the Achæan horse; but more notable by that excellent history which he wrote than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been, that these were not hearty friends unto the Romans, but such as abstained from raising troubles more for lack of opportunity than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale, it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the Ætolians; they demanded hostages, and found some in the council that approved the motion: as also among the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the Roman faction accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good patriots; making it no less than a matter of treason to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pickthanks of their base flattery; rating them openly in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the ambassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the ambassadors carried themselves as men that could believe none ill, though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: that it should be free for all men to refuse obedience to any Roman magistrate imposing any burden for the present war,

[m] Polyb. Legat. 74.

unless it were such as the senate had likewise thought meet. Of this decree the whole country was glad; for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that, standing on privilege hereof, refused to fulfil every commandment, were numbered among the patriots; which, in the end of this war, proved little better, if not worse, than to have been traitors. The senate was driven to set down this order, by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome concerning the wrongs done by Roman magistrates, and especially by the admirals Lucretius and Hortensius. Lucretius was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done; highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loved not to have their subjects oppressed. Hortensius, being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services, it is noteworthy, that from Alabanda, a town of the Lesser Asia, there was presented unto the senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemen's targets, and a crown of gold, to bestow upon Jupiter in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple unto the town Rome, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolomy, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shameless flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a goddess, and receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of deity, at the gift of such a rascal city as Alabanda?

SECT. VII.

Q. Martius, the Roman consul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardice of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The town of Dium, quitted by Martius, repaired and fortified by the king. The Romans attempt many places with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent ambassador to Martius from the Achæans. Polybius's honest wisdom beneficial to the Achæans. King Eumenes grows averse from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius king of Illyria, whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends ambassadors to the Rhodians, who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarnæ by his wretched parsimony.

AFTER two years of the Macedonian war, things were further out of tune in Greece than when the war began, which had been thought likely to reform all those countries, and bring them to what pass the Romans desired, as it did in the end. Perseus had hitherto the better, and was stronger now than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side, his friends in all parts of Greece took courage daily, and his reputation grew such, as caused those, that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius and Hostilius, the consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious enterprise of conquest by many losses received. The Roman admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, even of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally the fear was great on the Roman side; and the army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the tribunes, or colonels, or else of the consul himself, (for they laid the blame one upon the other,) in licensing the soldiers to depart. Quintius Martius, the new consul, who succeeded unto Hostilius, was to amend all this; which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do, though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began

hotly to set the war on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way; not seeking to force the straits, that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains, which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The king heard of his approach, and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the consul proceeded in his journey, with hope, either not to be discovered by the enemy, or to break through all opposition; or at leastwise to fight on as convenient ground as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot, to discover the ways. Two days was this company troubled in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles, after which they had sight of the enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground, and sent back word to the consul where they were, entreating him to hasten unto them; which he did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arrival, but met him, and fought with him two or three days together, each returning to their own camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front: so that very few hands came to be employed, all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards, yet a shame to return. Wherefore Martius took the only course remaining, and indeed the best: part of his men he left with Popilius, to attend upon the Macedonians, whilst he, with the rest, fetched a compass about, and sought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extreme difficulty, which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeys, through places unfit for habitation, he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make paths where none were, yea where nature might seem to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains, in this way which he

took, that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to roll themselves down, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst: for they met with rocks that stood one over another, so upright, and cumbersome to get down, that their elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their governors, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey, there was nothing more desired by the soldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the elephants, by a kind of bridges, like unto falling drawbridges; whereof the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall, so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turf, that they might seem continent with the ground, so to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock to the next downfall, then might the bridge be shorter. When an elephant was gone a pretty way upon one of these, the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder, thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge, whence he was conveyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears how throughly provided the Romans used to be in their journeys of things needful in all occasions; as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested, staying for Popilius and his company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should

have overtaken them, if the enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days' journeys were like unto the first, save that custom, and the nearness to their way's end, without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans coming towards him, since they fought with his men upon the passage three days together, he lying so nigh, that he might well-near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear, that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but, as one void of counsel, sat hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were leading into Tempe; the first by Connus, which the Romans were unable to force; the second and third were the same which Martius had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the last by the city of Dium, out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded, and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as Martius had undergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the rest, whereof only the king had benefit, for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley itself, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium stood upon the foot of the huge mountain Olympus, about a mile from the sea; of which mile, the river Helicon becoming there a lake, and called Baphyras, took up the one half, the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of Tempe a passage which ten men might easily keep, where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley, drew near to the very banks of Peneus, a goodly and deep river which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easy than to make the consul repent him of his troublesome journey, if Perseus could have seen his own advantages. For the Roman army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel, but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been enforced to return the same way that it came, if the king had made good the [illegible]

Dium. To have returned, and climbed up with their elephants and carriages against those rocks, from which with extreme labour they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility, especially considering how the enemy from above their heads would have beaten upon them, being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their journey into Macedon, from the side of Illyria, whence that kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part, than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe, whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages which they despaired to win. But the cowardice of Perseus did commend the counsel by them followed as wise: for he no sooner heard that the enemy was come over the mountains into Tempe, than he fared like one out of his wits, saying, that he was vanquished, and had lost all without battle. Herewithal he began to take out of Dium what he could carry away in haste, and straightways abandoned the town. In the same vehemency of amazement he sent a strait commandment to Thessalonica, that the arsenal there should be set on fire; and to Pella, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea; as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two cities. Nicias, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could, though soon after his master grew sorry for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by divers from under the water. But Andronicus, who had charge to set fire on the king's arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow, and so he prevented the damage. Whether Nicias, for his absolute and blind obedience, or Andronicus, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easy pardon, it rested in the king to interpret. The reward of their service was this: Perseus growing ashamed of his mad cowardice, that appeared in this hasty direction, caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which

had fetched his treasure out of the sea by their diving, were paid their wages after the same sort, that so there might be no witness of the king's base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great princes. If Perseus would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his fault, then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might believe him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no such capacity: he thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called Hippias away, (the captain which had stopped the consul on the top of the mountain,) and Asclepiodatus from defence of the passages whereto they were by him appointed, he rated them openly, saying, that they had betrayed unto the enemy the gates and bars of Macedon. Of this reproach if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him to whom of right it belonged, then might they have sped as did Nicias and Andronicus.

The consul Martius had great cause to rejoice, for that the king so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto; since the Roman army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist for want of victuals. He took Dium without resistance, and thence went forward into Macedon, wherein having travelled about a day's journey, and gotten one town that yielded, he was compelled, by mere lack of food for his men, to return back towards Thessaly. His fleet came to him in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war, but having left behind, at Magnesia, the ships of burden which carried the provisions: wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his lieutenants had been careful to occupy the castles about Tempe, which were forsaken by the Macedonians: for by those ways only might corn be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with this corn, which was desirously expected, he forsook Dium, and went to Phila, by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains; for otherwise it had

been madness to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was, men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war, since he thus recoiled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly or cowardice of Martius, the king recollected himself, understood his own error, sought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the river Enipeus, meaning there to stop the enemy's proceeding all that summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough, not only to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him such a noble victory as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of Dium was to the consul an exceeding hinderance: for little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the town of Heraclea, standing on the river of Peneus, five miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon men's heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, Martius did set a bold face towards Dium, as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the king further off, though his intent or hope was nothing like so great, his chief care being to provide for his wintering. He sent the admiral to make attempt upon the sea-towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias, and others: all these were assayed; but in vain. The fields about Thessalonica were wasted, and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the town, were still put to the worse. As for the town itself, there was danger in coming near it, either by land or sea, by reason of the engines, which shot from the

walls, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the admiral, setting sail from thence, ran along by Ænia and Antigonea (landing near to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to Pallene, in the territory of Cassandrea. There king Eumenes joined with him, bringing twenty ships of war; and five other were sent thither from king Prusias. With this access of strength, the admiral was bold to try his fortune at Cassandrea; which was bad. There was a new ditch, lately cast by Perseus, before the town, which, while the Romans were filling up, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank. By this occasion it was learned, that there were arches in the town wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the admiral gathered hope of making way into the town by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest, giving an alarm to the other side of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made: but whilst the Romans were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault, the captains within the town perceived what was done, and, sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall, of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the town which king Eumenes assailed, (a supply in the meanwhile entering the town by sea,) caused the siege to break up. Tarone was the next place which the admiral thought meet to attempt, and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned, he made way towards Demetrias, whereinto Euphranor, a Macedonian captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces as were not only sufficient to have defended the town, if the admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the land about it from spoil, or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias by Melibœa, whither the consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his lieutenant to be-

siege it; and, by the terror of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans, or rather, so far was their ability short of their enterprises, ever since their consul, (whether dastardly or carelessly,) most unlike a good commander, had let go his hold of Macedon, by forsaking Dium; yea, it is to be suspected that some greater harm befell them, or at least that they were in some greater danger than is expressed in the broken remaining history of this war. For Martius persuaded the Rhodians, by Agesipolis their ambassador, who came to him at Heraclea about other business of less importance, that they should do well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seek to finish the war. Now, although [n] Polybius do most probably conjecture that this was rather a malicious device of Martius, craftily seeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the senate, than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of Perseus or of Antiochus, who had then an army on foot; yet since he made show of fear, it is like withal that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the Rhodians moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesy, both of him and of the admiral, towards their ambassador, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the ambassadors of Perseus, and of Gentius the Illyrian, did set out their business at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the Roman horse. [o] Thus much we find intimated, though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight be not specified. And hereto may be referred the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of Martius's army: for they found the consul wanting meat, the admiral wanting men, and, for those few that he had,

[n] Polyb. Legat. 80. [o] Ibid. 87.

wanting both money and clothes; and App. Claudius the pretor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so unable to invade Macedon, that contrariwise he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt, or at least that the Romans, with greater loss than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the towns which they besieged.

Now, although it were so, that Martius in very few of his actions behaved himself like a man of war, yet in exercise of cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, "a "crooked or sinister kind of wisdom," he dealt as a crafts-master, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency nor commended his honesty; since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit, and nevertheless, out of envy, vainglory, or such delight as weak and busy-headed men take in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as Perseus, by the success of his doings against Hostilius, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade Thessaly, Archo, Lycortas, and other good patriots among the Achæans, judged it expedient for their nation to help the Romans, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree, which passed, that the Achæans should send their whole power into Thessaly, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the army was levied, and [p] Polybius, with others, sent ambassadors unto Martius, to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. Polybius found the consul busied in seeking passage through Tempe into Macedon. He went along with the army, and awaited the consul's leisure, till they came to Heraclea, where finding the time convenient, he presented the decree, and offered the service of his nation, whereinsoever it should be commanded. Martius took this very kindly, but said, that he needed now no manner of

[p] Polyb. Legat. 78.

help. Forthwith Polybius despatched home his companions, to signify thus much, tarrying himself behind in the camp. After a while, word was brought to Martius, that Ap. Claudius desired, or rather imperiously required of the Achæans, five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest that Appius had need of these men, and that if he were strong in field he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of Perseus. But the labyrinthian head of Martius could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him Polybius, to whom he declared, that Appius had no need of such aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Achæans be put to such needless charges. Away went Polybius, musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the Achæans that the consul was so earnest in this business, or rather for envy, and to hinder Ap. Claudius from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when Polybius was to deliver his opinion in the council, touching this matter, then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge, so was it manifest, on the other side, that the words by Martius uttered to him in private would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help Claudius, alleging that he had no need. In this case therefore he had recourse unto the decree of the senate, which exempted men from necessity of doing what the Roman commanders should require, unless, by special order from the senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the senate, this demand of Appius was referred unto the advice of the consul, by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Achæans were savers of more than an hundred and twenty talents, though Polybius himself ran into danger of Appius's displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his country's behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long year's imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of Martius that king Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans, or whether this king began, when it was too late, to stand in fear, lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging, or whether the regard of money were able to oversway all other passions, it is hard to determine; since they that had better means to know the truth have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that Eumenes did not so much as give any help to Martius, but coming to have joined with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former consuls, was not entertained according to his liking, and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain horse of the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother Attalus, tarrying behind with the consul, did the Romans good service, then is the reason apparent of the hatred borne afterwards by the senate to Eumenes, and the love to Attalus. But it is more generally received, that Eumenes gave a willing ear to Perseus's desire of accord, for mere desire of gain. And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on in the course whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befell, Perseus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an embassage. The tenor of his advertisements, both to Eumenes and to Antiochus, was, that there could be no perfect love between a king and a free city; that the Romans had quarrel alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that Philip was oppressed by them with the help of Attalus, Antiochus with the help of Philip and Eumenes, and now Perseus assailed with help of Eumenes and Prusias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider, that when Macedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of Prusias than of him. In like sort he admonished Antiochus, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the Egyptian, so

long as the Romans could make him give over by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the Romans to surcease from their war upon Macedon, or else to hold them as common enemies unto all kings. Antiochus lay far out of the Romans' way, and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes was more nearly touched; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest: yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no less weary than Perseus was afraid: wherefore he promised, for his own part, that if he might have fifteen hundred talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a neuter therein; and that for some greater quantity of money (how much, I find not) he would also bring the Romans to condescend unto peace; and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. Perseus liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the money, especially beforehand, as was required. He would fain have peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the money in the temple at Samothrace, whence it should be delivered unto Eumenes after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The isle of Samothrace was Perseus's own, and therefore Eumenes thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed; so that needs he would have part of his wages in prest. Thus the two kings did no more than lose time, and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans as a traitor.

After the same manner dealt Perseus with king Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before, who dealt plainly, and said, that without money he could not stir. Hereunto Perseus loved not to hearken, thinking that his treasures would serve at the last cast to deliver him from all his fears. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his fear urge him to prodigality, so as he

agreed to pay three hundred talents, which Gentius demanded for a recompense. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by Perseus, to the end that all his army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently, upon the bargain made, ambassadors were sent to Rhodes from both Perseus and Gentius, who desired the Rhodians to take upon them as arbitrators between Perseus and the Romans, and to bring the war to an end. The Rhodians, thinking that Martius the consul was no less desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman senate, hearing proud words to the same effect from the Rhodian ambassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise, so as this vainglory of the Rhodians was throughly chastised, and more throughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble as their folly was proud. Such use of Gentius's friendship made Perseus, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the war, but then must the money be hastened away. Pantauchus, the Macedonian ambassador, who remained with Gentius, exhorted him daily to begin the war by land and sea, whilst the Romans were unprovided: but finding what it was that made all to stay, he sent word to Perseus. Hereupon ten talents were sent to Pantauchus, who delivered it to the young king, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the seal of the Illyrians, but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, Gentius had laid hands upon two Roman ambassadors, and cast them into prison: which Perseus no sooner heard, than he recalled his treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessity to make war with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

[q] There came about the same time through Illyria, to the aid of Perseus, under one Clondicus, a petty king, ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot of the Gauls, which were, as Plutarch hath it, the Bastarnæ. These had beforehand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the kingdom, Perseus sent one to them, desiring their captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratify with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their general asked was, whether the king had sent money to give the soldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. "Why then," said Clondicus, "tell thy "master, that the Gauls will not stir one foot further, until "they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages." Perseus hereupon took counsel; if to utter his own opinion, before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the Bastarnæ; who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse of them, he said, would be as many as he should need to use, and not so many that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his counsellors would have told him, that there wanted not employment for the whole army of them; since without any danger to the kingdom, they might be let out by the way of Perrhæbia into Thessaly; where wasting the country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the king notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This and a great deal more might have been alleged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the king's mind. He did his errand; upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had been

[q] Liv. l. 44. Plutarch. in Vit. Æmil.

drawn so far to no purpose. But Clondicus asked him now again, whether he had brought the money along with him, to pay those five thousand whom the king would entertain. Hereto, when it was perceived that Antigonus could make no better answer than shifting excuses, the Bastarnæ returned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace, yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt; which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt Perseus, like a careful treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the Romans, without diminishing the sum. But of this painful office he was very soon discharged by L. Æmilius Paulus, the new consul; who in fifteen days after his setting forth from Italy, brought the kingdom of Macedon to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

SECT. VIII.

Of L. Æmilius Paulus the consul. His journey. He forceth Perseus to discamp. He will not hazard battle with any disadvantage. Of an eclipse of the moon. Æmilius's superstition. The battle of Pydna. Perseus's flight. He forsakes his kingdom, which hastily yields to Æmilius. Perseus at Samothrace. He yields himself to the Roman admiral, and is sent prisoner to Æmilius.

BY the war of Macedon the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour; which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either [r] they decreed that province to L. Æmilius Paulus, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot between him and his fellow-consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second consulship. He refused to propound unto the senate any thing that concerned his province, until by ambassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the war, it was perfectly understood in what condition both the Roman forces and the Macedonian at the present remained. This being throughly

[r] Plutarch. in Vit. Æmil.

known to be such as hath been already told, the senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the consul, but unto the navy, and likewise to the army that lay between Illyria and Epirus, from which App. Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius sent thither in his place. Æmilius, before his departure from Rome, making an oration to the people, as was the custom, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions, not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Æmilius, who died valiantly in the battle of Cannæ, might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute consul.

All his business within the city being despatched, Æmilius was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men that he should finish the war; though that he should finish it so soon and happily was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to Brundusium, whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the isle of Corcyra before night: thence passed he to Delphi, where, having done sacrifice to Apollo, after the fifth day he set forwards to the camp, and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining in which he finished the war.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at Dium, having spared no labour of men and of women to fortify the banks of Enipeus, where it was fordable in dry weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt upon Dium, was lack of fresh water:

for there were ten miles between Dium and Tempe, all the way lying between the sea-shore and the foot of Olympus, without any brook or spring breaking forth on that side. But Æmilius found present remedy for this, by digging wells on the shore, where he found sweet springs, as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Martius from taking up his lodging any nearer to the enemy than the town of Heraclea, on the river of Peneus; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the Roman camp had such means to lie close to the Macedonian, as it presently did, the passage onward, being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before: wherefore it was necessary to search another way; which by inquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over Olympus leading into Perrhæbia, hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. Martius either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his soldiers to make the adventure, they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work, as had been their march over Ossa into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman camp, teaching the soldiers, among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution, without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their general. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto Scipio Æmilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own sons by nature, but adopted, the one of them by a son of Scipio the African, the other by one of the Fabii. Scipio took with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans, but his main strength was of legionaries: for the king's guard upon the mountain consisted in a manner wholly of archers and slingers, who, though at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up

unto them, yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad night's work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, Scipio and Fabius took a wrong way towards the fleet, where victuals were provided for their journey; it being noised that they were to run along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the country. All the while that they were passing the mountains (which was about three days) the consul made show of a meaning to set upon Perseus where he lay, rather to divert the king's attention from that which was his main enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over Enipeus. The channel of Enipeus, which received in winter-time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore Æmilius employed none, save his velites, of whom the king's light armature had advantage at far distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The engines from off the towers which Perseus had raised on his own bank did also beat upon the Romans, and gave them to understand that their labour was in vain. Yet Æmilius persisted as he had begun, and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the Macedonian, that some greater work was in hand; since otherwise a good captain, as Æmilius was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravadoes, that were somewhat costly. But Perseus looked only unto that which was before his eyes, until his men, that came running fearfully down the mountain, brought word into the camp that the Romans were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult; and the king himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge, or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custody of the passage were taken

sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, Scipio and Fabius had very good success in their journey. It may well be, that they slept until the Romans came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and slings could do little service, were beaten at handy strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarch out of Polybius, and an epistle of Scipio, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon; which had been effected by Martius in the year foregoing, but was closed up again through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his towns, and so to linger out the war; having been taught, by the last year's example, how resolute the people were in making defence: but far worse counsel prevailed, as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The king resolved to put all at once to hazard of battle; fearing belike to put himself into any one town, lest that should be first of all besieged, and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over carefully relieved. This was even the same that Æmilius, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto Pydna, that served well for the phalanx, and had likewise, on the sides of it, some pieces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy, who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the Romans had sight of the king's army, which, with greater fear than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the camp that was so notably well fortified, they desired nothing more than to give battle immediately; doubting lest otherwise the king should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the consul, praying him not to lose occasion by delay: but Æmilius told him, that he spake like a young man, and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tired with their journey, had no camp wherein to rest themselves, nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these

and the like respects, the consul made a stand; and shewing himself unto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battle, gave charge to have the camp measured out and entrenched behind the army; whereinto, at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a night's rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own general to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, he excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy; who advanced no further, but kept upon ground serving ill for the phalanx; as, on the other side, the consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening, (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account,) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a colonel, or tribune of a legion, who had the former year been pretor, foretold unto the consul and (with his good liking) unto the army an eclipse of the moon, which was to be the same night; willing the soldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the Romans, in such eclipses, to beat pans of brass and basins, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they did the moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of Sulpicius converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noise as long as the eclipse lasted; rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigy betokening their loss, since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, whether such eclipses do signify or cause any alteration in civil affairs, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion; for the argument is too large: more worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdom of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. Æmilius, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the moon, that it was no supernatural

thing, nor above the reach of human understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof, yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again; for which he is commended even by Plutarch, a sage philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet is it like that he, being a senator, and one of the council for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to Hercules, which was no less foolish: for a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere Hercules could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to Æmilius; but with condition, that he should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman: wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately canonized at Alabanda; or upon Romulus, founder of their city, on whom the Romans had bestowed his deity; or (if a god of elder date were more authentical) upon Mars, the father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs, and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battle; Æmilius was throughly persuaded, that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at Pydna, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the sacrifices, the consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning sun was full in the Romans' faces, which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore Perseus kept his ground, that was commodious for the phalanx, and Æmilius sent forth part of his men to bring in wood and fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But

about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that which whereto neither of the generals had over earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman soldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The king's men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of Thracians ran into the water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel, and one of the Thracians was slain. His countrymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the generals placed his men in order of battle, accordingly as the manner of his country, and the arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there, whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better soldiers, and better appointed. Both the king and the consul encouraged their men with lively words; which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the king, having finished his oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into Pydna; there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto Hercules. It is the less marvel that he durst adventure battle, since he had bethought himself of such a stratagem whereby to save his own person. As for Hercules, he liked not the sacrifice of a coward, whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisy: for he that will pray for a good harvest ought also to plough, sow, and weed his ground. When therefore the king returned to the battle, he found it no better than lost; and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight. The acts of this day, such as we find recorded, are, that the Roman elephants could do no manner of good; that the Macedonian phalanx did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as Æmilius was thereat much astonished; that the Peligni,

rushing desperately on the phalanx, were overborne, many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the Romans; and which the consul beholding, is said to have rent his coat-armour for grief. If the king, with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoir, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battle was the same which doubtless the consul expected, even from the beginning; the difficulty, or almost impossibility, of holding the phalanx long in order: for whilst some of the Romans' small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files, having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the consul what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little use when they were charged in flank by the Roman targetiers, according to direction given by Æmilius, when he saw the front of the enemy's great battle become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the phalanx proved unavailable against many small squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battle of Cynoscephalæ; yea, this form of embattling was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of itself; though here were little such inconvenience of ground as had been at [s]Cynoscephalæ.

Perseus, when he saw his battle begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner, untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the enemy, who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that battle, only some four-

[s] Chap. iv. sect. 14.

score or six score men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the king and his company in a wood; where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The king was in doubt, lest they had ill meaning to himself, and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves, every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king, the number began within a while to lessen: for he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that day's misfortune, which was most due to himself; thereby causing those that knew his nature to shrink away from him how they could. At his coming to Pella, he found his pages and household servants ready to attend him, as they had been wont; but of his great men that had escaped from the battle, there was none appearing in the court. In this melancholic time, there were two of his treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults; but, in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore, standing in fear lest they that refused to come at his call should shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends, he had with him only Evander (who had been employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about five hundred Cretians; more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making show as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battle he came to Amphipolis, where he exhorted the townsmen to fidelity with tears; and his own speech being hindered by tears, appointed Evander to speak what himself would have uttered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their town of two thousand Thra-

cians that lay there in garrison; sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them: and now, to be rid of the king, they plainly bade Evander be gone. The king hearing this, had no mind to tarry; but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there in certain vessels that he found in the river Strymon, passed over to the isle of Samothrace; where he hoped to live safe, by privilege of the religious sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the king make it the less doubtful how all the kingdom fell into the power of Æmilius within so few days after his victory. Pydna, which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the soldiers, that were of sundry nations, fled out of the battle into that town, and prepared for defence; the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. Hippius, who had kept the passage over Ossa against Martius, with Pantauchus, who had been sent ambassador to Gentius the Illyrian, were the first that came in; yielding themselves and the town of Berœa, whither they had retired out of the battle. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and from all the towns of Macedon, within two days; the loss of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the king had forsaken his country; but opened their gates upon such terms, that the sack of it was granted to the Roman army. Æmilius sent abroad into the country such as he thought meetest to take charge of other cities; he himself marching towards Pella. He found in Pella no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian: but within a little while he shall have more.

It was soon understood that Perseus had taken sanctuary in the temple at Samothrace, his own letters to the consul confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of his writing was to desire favour; which, though he begged in terms ill

beseeming a king, yet since the inscription of his epistle was "King Perseus to the consul Paulus," the consul, who had taken from him his kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the title, refused to make answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected; whereby he craved, and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this conference, he was marvellous earnest that he might be allowed to retain the name of king. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his treasure unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these: that the Romans would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession, but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and be called king. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this isle of Samothrace; both for that in one of his consultations about the war he was dehorted by his friends from seeking to exchange his kingdom of Macedon for [1]such a paltry island, and for that he offered to lay up the money which Eumenes demanded in the holy temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and without more ado to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of Rome. This is so far against his mind, that the conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace, Cn. Octavius, the Roman admiral, with his fleet; who assays, as well by terrible threats as by fair language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole, wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the Samothracians, how they durst pollute their temple by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy privilege of sanctuary, by attempting the murder of king Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quick. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and send word to the king, that Evander, who lives with him in the temple, is accused of an im-

[1] Liv. lib. 42.

pious fact committed at Delphi, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgment, he must not be suffered to profane that holy place by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say that Perseus himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgment shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? Perseus therefore willeth Evander to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Romans' hand, who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment: so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion Evander seems to like well; and either kills himself, or, hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time, as it were to get poison wherewith to end his life, is killed by the king's commandment. The death of this man, who had stuck to Perseus in all times of need, makes all the king's friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him; so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion will tell perilous tales, and say, that the king hath lost the privilege of this holy sanctuary by murdering Evander therein. Or if the Romans will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity, he purposeth to make an escape, and fly with his treasures unto Cotys, his good friend, into Thrace. Oroandes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one ship; who easily was persuaded to waft the king thence. With all secrecy the king's money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the king himself, with his wife and [u] children, (if rather it were not true that he had with him only [x] Philip, his elder son, who was only by adoption his son, being his [y] brother by nature,) with much ado got out at a window by a rope, and over a mud wall. At his coming to the sea-side, he found

[u] Plutarch. in Vit. Æmil. [x] Liv. lib. 45. [y] Liv. lib. 42.

no Oroandes there: the Cretian had played a Cretian trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst Perseus was searching all along the shore; who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted, ere he could recover the temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging; and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till Octavius made proclamation, that all the king's pages, and Macedonians whatsoever, abiding with their master in Samothrace, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that isle or at home in Macedon, conditionally that they should presently yield themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Thessalonian, to whom the king had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to Octavius. Lastly, Perseus himself, with his son Philip, accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better protected him, rendered himself, and made the Roman victory complete. If he had not trusted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Macedon, without other hope of living than of reigning therein, he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once those contrary hopes of saving his kingdom by arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those princes that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to Æmilius; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. Æmilius used to him the language of a gentle victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having with so hostile a mind made war upon the Romans. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit; as for Perseus, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the consul termed it) almost assurance; for that

such was the mercy of the people of Rome. After these good words, being invited to the consul's table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to Q. Ælius.

Such end had this Macedonian war, after four years' continuance; and such end therewithal had the kingdom of Macedon; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto Rome.

SECT. IX.

Gentius, king of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

ABOUT the same time, and with like celerity, Anicius, the Roman pretor who succeeded unto App. Claudius, had the like success against king Gentius, the Illyrian. Gentius had an army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at Lissus, ready to assist king Perseus as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten talents. But Anicius arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into [z] Scodra. This town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification, and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, assisted with the king's presence, made it seem unpossible to be won in any not a very long time. Yet Anicius was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than courageous; for they were beaten, and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The king sent ambassadors; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hand on the Roman ambassadors, to have recourse to such mediation: but he thought his own fault pardonable, inasmuch as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him than the casting of those ambassadors into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three days' respite,

[z] Called now Scutari.

he passed up a river, within half a mile of the Roman camp, into the lake of Scodra, as it were to consult the more privately, though indeed to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Caravantius was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder that he was so foolish as to return into Scodra. He sent messengers craving access unto the pretor; before whom, having lamented his folly past, (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present,) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the towns of his kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently given up. So this war ended in thirty days; the people of Rome not knowing that it was begun, until Perpenna, one of the ambassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from Anicius how all had passed.

SECT. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victory over Perseus.

NOW began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune, and to look tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilst the war with Perseus seemed full of danger. The Rhodian ambassadors were still at Rome when the tidings of these victories were brought thither: wherefore it was thought good to call them into the senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with bad grace; saying, that they were sent from Rhodes to make an overture of peace, forasmuch as it was thought that this war was no less grievous to the Romans themselves than to the Macedonians and many others; but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the Rhodians did congratulate with the senate and people of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the senate made answer, that the Rhodians had sent this embassage to Rome, not for love to Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian, whose partisans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have war

proclaimed against Rhodes, the ambassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the city, beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of war from Rome being known at Rhodes, all that had been any whit averse from the Romans, in the late war of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old M. Cato, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild sentence, and advertised the senate, that in decreeing war against Rhodes they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that [a] rather the wealth of that city, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the wars of Philip and Antiochus, helped well the Rhodians; among whom none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the Roman faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the Romans; a favour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like or greater severity did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. Æmilius himself made progress through the country, visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief citizens in Demetrias were slain at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman soldiers: others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the consul, the redress was such as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the Romans the liberty of their country, he feasted like a king, with exces-

[a] Cæsar in Orat. apud Sallust. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.

sive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his camp: an easy matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Ambassadors likewise were sent from Rome; some to give order for settling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular instruction from the senate than was usual in such cases; and some to visit the affairs of Greece. The kingdom of Macedon was set at liberty by Æmilius and the ambassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans used to bestow. The best part of it was, that the tribute which had been paid unto the kings was lessened by half. As for the rest, the country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the nobility were sent captive into Italy, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient laws of the country were abrogated, and new given by Æmilius. Such mischief the senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this province, and in the time of conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greeks, that were not subjects to Rome, the things done to them could deserve no better name than mere tyranny, yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom among princes and great estates, of violating leagues, doth make the oaths of confederation seem of no validity. The ambassadors, that were sent to visit the Greeks, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to Rome, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to Perseus, which fell at length into the Romans' hands; and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there not colour for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the Macedonian side, and since it is confessed, that the good patriots were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the king; this

manner of proceeding was inexcusable tyranny. With the Achæans these ambassadors were to deal more formally, not so much because that commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no commission to make or denounce war) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by letters or otherwise, whereby any one of the Achæans could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Callicrates nor any of his adherents had been employed by the nation, in doing or offering their service to the Romans, but only such as were the best patriots. Yet would not therefore the ambassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time, wherein, since all men trembled for fear of Rome, the season served fitly to rank the Achæans with the rest. And hereto Callicrates was very urgent, fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices ere long time passed. So the ambassadors came among the Achæans, where one of them, in open assembly of the nation, spake as Callicrates had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chief among them had with money and other means befriended Perseus. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. "After sentence "given!" cried out the whole assembly; "what justice were "this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they "cannot well do, we will soon condemn them." Then said the Roman boldly, that all their pretors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. "If this were true," said Xenon, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, "then should I likewise have been friend to Perseus; where-"of if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, "either here presently, or before the senate at Rome." Upon these words of Xenon the ambassador laid hold, and said, that even so it were the best way for him and the rest to purge themselves before the senate at Rome. Then began

he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand, willing them to appear and answer before the senate. This might even be termed the captivity of Greece, wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their love unto their country, to be punished according to the will of those who could not endure that virtue and regard of the public liberty should dwell together in any of the Greeks. At their coming to Rome they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achæans. Many embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining, since honesty had been thus punished as a vice in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Achæans, nor yet held to be offenders. But instead of better answer it was pronounced, that the "senate thought it not "expedient for the country that these men should return "into Achaia." Neither could any solicitation of the Achæans, who never ceased to importune the senate for their liberty, prevail at all, until after seventeen years fewer than thirty of them were enlarged; of whom that wise and virtuous man Polybius, the great historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of gaol after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction in regard of what was done upon the Epirots. For the senate, being desirous to preserve the Macedonian treasure whole, yet withal to gratify the soldiers, gave order, that the whole country of Epirus should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty, as also it was performed by Æmilius with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the Greeks and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of Rome, he sent unto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of every city. These he commanded to deliver up all the gold and

silver which they had, and sent along with them, into every of their towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instruction to the captains, that upon a certain day, by him appointed, they should fall to sack every one the town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and ten cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoiled by the Roman soldiers; and, besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the Epirots deserved punishment, as having favoured Perseus: but since they among this people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had been already sent into Italy, there to receive their due; and since this nation in general was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the Romans, I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary: but the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the less marvellous, that God was pleased to make Æmilius childless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedonians. How terrible they were to other kindgoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an embassage sent from them to Antiochus; whereof before we speak, we must speak somewhat of Antiochus's foregoers, of himself, and of his affairs, about which these ambassadors came.

SECT. XI.

The war of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman ambassadors.

ANTIOCHUS the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a crown, and in the seventeenth [redacted] eighteenth of Ptolomy Epiphanes, while he [redacted]

rob the temple of Bel, or (according to [z] Justin) of Jupiter. He left behind him three sons, Seleucus Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes, Demetrius Soter; and one daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given in marriage to Ptolomy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Seleucus, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of Antiochus's sons, reigned in Syria twelve years, according to [a] Eusebius, Appian, and Sulpitius, though Josephus give him but seven. A prince, who as he was slothful by nature, so the great loss which his father Antiochus had received took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, Daniel gave this judgment, *Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus et indignus decore regio;* [b] "And in his place," speaking of Antiochus the father of this man, "shall start "up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a king." Under this Seleucus those things were done which are spoken of Onias the high priest in these words, and other to the same effect: [c] *What time as the holy city was inhabited with all peace, because of the godliness of Onias the priest, it came to pass that even the king did honour the place, and garnished the temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third chapter of the second of Maccabees, of Simon of Benjamin, who by Apollonius betrayed the treasures of the temple, and of Heliodorus sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of Onias; of the king's death, and of his successor Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore from the reign of this king that the books of the Maccabees take beginning; which books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand: for the first book, although it touch upon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother and successor of this Seleucus; from whom downward to the death of Simon Maccabeus (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year of the Greeks in Syria) that first book treateth. The author of the second

[z] Strab. l. 16. Just. l. 35.
[a] Euseb. in Cron. App. de Bell. Syr. Ant. 12. c. 5.
[b] Dan. xi. 21.
[c] 2 Macc. iii. 1, 2.

book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a proem, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the Grecian reign, and with the death of Nicanor, slain by Judas; remembering in the fourth chapter the practice of Jason, the brother of Onias, who, after the death of Seleucus, prevailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor, for the priesthood. [d] It is also held by Jansenius and other grave writers, that it was in the time of this Onias that Arius, king of the Spartans, sent ambassadors to the Jews, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the Greeks, Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas, remembereth in the preamble of that epistle, which he himself directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Antipater, his ambassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the senate of Rome, repeating also the former letters word by word, which Arius had sent to Onias the high priest, whereto Josephus adds, that the name of the Lacedæmonian ambassador was Demoteles, and that the letters had a square volume, and were sealed with an eagle holding a dragon in her claws.

Now to this Seleucus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second son of the great Antiochus; and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the king his brother, which also he usurped from his brother's son.

Ptolomy Philometor, his nephew by his sister Cleopatra, being then very young, had been about seven years king of Egypt.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the father of this king Philometor, had reigned in Egypt four and twenty years, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip of Macedon, and the great Antiochus, had agreed to divide his kingdom between them, whilst he was a child: but they found such other business, ere long, with the Romans, as made them give over their unjust purpose, especially Antiochus, who gave, with his daughter in marriage, [illegible]

[d] 2 Mac. i. 12. super Eccles. c. v.

Ptolomy, the provinces of Cœlesyria, Phœnice, and Judæa, which he had won by his victory over Scopas, that was general of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Nevertheless Ptolomy adhered to the Romans, whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two sons, this Ptolomy Philometor, and Ptolomy Physcon, with a daughter, Cleopatra. Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian kings.

Ptolomy Philometor, so called (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. Physcon, having a strong party, got possession of Alexandria, and Philometor held himself in Memphis, craving succour of king Antiochus his uncle. Hereof Antiochus was glad, who, under colour to take upon him the protection of the young prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that kingdom. He sent Apollonius, the son of Mnestheus, ambassador into Egypt, and, under colour to assist the king's coronation, he gave him instructions to persuade the governors of the young king Philometor to deliver the king his nephew, with the principal places of that kingdom, into his hands, pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his nephew's safety and well-doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible army to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of Syria to Joppe, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards Jerusalem, where by [c] Jason the priest (a chaplain fit for such a patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the city. For though lately, in the time of Seleucus, the brother and predecessor of [f] Epiphanes, that impious traitor Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, ruler of the temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to Apollonius, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from

[c] 2 Macc. iv. [f] 2 Macc. iii.

Heaven, the said Apollonius being strucken by the angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of Onias; yet sufficed not this example to terrify others from the like ungodly practices. Presently, upon the death of Seleucus, this Jason, the brother of Onias, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the priesthood for himself, offered unto the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, with other rents and sums of money. [g] So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of Jason, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the Achæans, when as that mischievous Callicrates, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It went thus:

> One fire than other burns more forcibly,
> One wolf than other wolves does bite more sore;
> One hawk than other hawks more swift does fly:
> So one most mischievous of men before,
> Callicrates, false knave as knave might be,
> Met with Menalcidas more false than he.

And even thus fell it out with Jason, who within three years after was betrayed, and overbidden, by Menelaus the brother of Simon, that for three hundred talents more obtained the priesthood for himself; Jason thereupon being forced to fly from Jerusalem, and to hide himself among the Ammonites.

From Jerusalem Antiochus marched into Phœnicia, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a fleet for his expedition into Egypt, with which, and with a mighty army of land-forces, [h] *he went about to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms, and entered Egypt with a mighty company, with chariots and elephants, with horsemen, and with a great navy, and moved war against Ptolemæus king of Egypt, but Ptolemæus was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong cities, and took away the*

[g] 2 Macc. iv. [h] 1 Macc. i. 17—20, &c.

spoils of the land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel; [i] *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful provinces; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers.* Never indeed had any of the kings of Syria so great a victory over the Egyptians, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the captains of Ptolomy, between Pelusium and the hill Cassius, [k] after which he entered and sacked the greatest and richest of all the cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, [l] *he turned again and went up towards Israel and Jerusalem with a mighty people, and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the shew-bread, and the pouring vessels and the bowls, and the golden basons, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden apparel. He took also the silver, and the gold, and the precious jewels, and the secret treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own land, after he had murdered many men.*

[m] It was about the beginning of the Macedonian war that Antiochus took in hand this Egyptian business. At what time he first laid claim to Cœlesyria, justifying his title by [n] the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffly averring that this province had not been consigned over to the Egyptian, or given in dowry with Cleopatra. [o] Easy it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all Egypt. The Achæans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, pressed him by several embassages to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receive their king, his nephew, Philometor, the elder brother of the Ptolomies, then should the war be presently at an end, otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it

[i] Dan. xi. 24.
[k] Jerom. in Dan.
[l] 1 Macc. i. 20—24.
[m] Lib. 6.
[n] Cap. 5. §. 2.
[o] Polyb. Legat. 81, 82, &c.

was an hard piece of work to take Alexandria by force, he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present, leaving the Ptolomies in very weak estate, the younger almost ruinated by his invasion, the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soever these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that Antiochus might leave them to the prosecution thereof, and follow at good leisure his other business at Jerusalem or elsewhere. So after the sack of Jerusalem he rested him a while at Antioch, and then made a journey into Cilicia, to suppress the rebellion of the Thracians and other in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry, to a concubine of the king's called Antiochis. For governor of Syria in his absence, he left one Andronicus, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while Menelaus, the brother of Simon, the same who had thrust Jason out of the priesthood, and promised the king three hundred talents for an income, committing the charge of the priesthood to his brother Lysimachus, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, whereof he presented a part to Andronicus, the king's lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by Sostratus eagerly demanded. Hereof when Onias the priest (formerly dispossessed by Jason) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacrilege of Menelaus, he reproved him for it; and, fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to Antioch: in compass it had about ten miles, wherein were the temples of Apollo and Diana, with a grove, sweet springs, banqueting places, and the like, which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of Onias to commit himself to

the protection of Apollo and Diana, or to claim privilege from the holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse: only I say, for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far less to hold this book as apocryphal, than to judge this fearful shift, which Onias (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man, for [p] *Menelaus taking Andronicus apart, prayed him to slay Onias. So when he came to Onias, he counselled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and persuading him to come out of the sanctuary; so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousness.* Hereof when complaint was made to Antiochus, after his return out of Cilicia, [q] *he took away Andronicus's garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the city, and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against Onias, he was slain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent man's death, I should have thought that this wicked king had once in his lifetime done justice: but presently after this, at the suit of one Ptolomy, a traitor to Ptolomy Philometor, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against Menelaus, and his brother Lysimachus, for a second robbing of the temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest that he was guided by his own outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice; since he revenged the death of Onias, yet slew those that were in the same cause with Onias, [r] *who, had they told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, they should have been heard as innocent.* By reason of such his unsteadiness, this king was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, *mad*, instead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth *noble*, or *illustrious*.

[s] *After this, Antiochus made a preparation for a second voyage into Egypt, and then were there seen throughout all the city of Jerusalem, forty days long, horsemen running*

[p] 2 Macc. iv. 34.
[q] 2 Macc. iv. 38.
[r] Ver. 47.
[s] 2 Macc. v. 1, 2.

in the air with robes of gold, and as bands of spearmen, and as troops of horsemen set in array, encountering and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signs, or rather forewarnings of God, all histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian, a star in the form of a sword appeared in the heavens directly over the city; after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of Epiphanes, though far greater. In the Cimbrian wars, [t] Pliny tells us that armies were seen fighting in the air from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope John the Eleventh, a fountain poured out blood instead of water, in or near the city of Genoa; soon after which the city was taken by the Saracens, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, [u] Vipera hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the emperor Nero the offspring of the Cæsars, as well natural as adopted, took end, whereof this notable sign gave warning.

[x] When Livia was first married to Augustus, an eagle let fall into her arms a white hen, holding a laurel-branch in her mouth. Livia caused this hen to be carefully nourished, and the laurel-branch to be planted: of the hen came a fair increase of white poultry, and from the little branch there sprang up in time a grove of laurel; so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of bays taken out of this grove; and, after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground; which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of Nero, all the broods of the white hens died, and the whole grove of bays withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cæsars' statues, and the sceptre placed in Augustus's hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not

[t] Plin. lib. 2. c. 57.

[u] Merc. Vipera de Prod. lib. 8. Vipera de prisco et sacro Instituto.

[x] Sueton. Galba.

think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard, it appears by their calling upon God, and praying that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus into Egypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning, so was his second expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder Ptolomy being left in Memphis, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their uncle, thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal city rather by persuasion than by arms. Physcon had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former siege; the Alexandrines, though they loved not Philometor, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals, (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme,) since nothing was brought in from the country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and, above all these, the loving disposition of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor in his purpose: but that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it was the fear wherein he stood of his uncle: for though Antiochus were gone out of Egypt with his army, yet had he left behind him a strong garrison in Pelusium, retaining that city, which was the key of Egypt, to his own use. This consideration wrought also with Physcon, and with those that were about him, so as, by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to Antiochus he was greatly enraged; for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the king Philometor his nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all ambassadors, yet he now prepared to make sharp war upon them both. And to that end he presently furnished and sent out his navy towards Cyprus, and drew his land army into Cœlesyria, ready to enter Egypt the spring following. When he was on his way as far as Rhinocorura, he met

with ambassadors sent from Ptolomy. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to Antiochus for the establishing of Philometor in his kingdom, partly to beseech him, that he would rather be pleased to signify what he required to have done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an army. But Antiochus returned this short answer: that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any other condition, than that Ptolomy should surrender into his hands together with the city of Pelusium the whole territory thereto belonging; and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the isle of Cyprus, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian fleet entered Nilus, and recovered as well those places which appertained to Ptolomy in Arabia, as in Egypt itself; for Memphis and all about it received Antiochus, being unable to resist him. The king having now no stop in his way to Alexandria, passed on thitherwards by easy journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civil war, and wherein Antiochus seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them to have the kingdom of Egypt taken from the rightful owners. More they could not or would not do, being troubled with Perseus, and therefore loath to provoke Antiochus too far. Nevertheless, the Egyptian kings being reconciled, and standing jointly in need of help against their uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both, it was to be expected, that not only the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence of their kingdom. Rome had been sustained with food from Egypt in the war of Hannibal, when Italy, lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the Egyptian had

Aratus laid the foundation of that greatness whereto the Achæans attained: and by the like help had Rhodes been defended against Demetrius Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the Ptolomies had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed or seconded by other as bad in requital, but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for aid, especially to the Rhodians and Achæans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans, Physcon and Cleopatra had sent, a year since, but their ambassadors lay still in Rome. Of the Achæans they desired in particular, that Lycortas, the brave warrior, might be sent to them as general of all the auxiliaries, and his son Polybius general of the horse. Hereunto the Achæans readily condescended, and would immediately have made performance, if Callicrates had not interposed his mischievous art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the Romans, or, much rather, envying those noble captains whose service the kings desired, withstood the common voice; which was, that their nation should not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the Ptolomies. For it was not now, he said, convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business as might make them the less able to yield unto the Romans what help soever should be required in the Macedonian war. And in this sentence he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted, terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that Martius the late consul had signified unto him, that the Romans were past all need of help; adding further, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse might well be spared to the aid of their benefactors, the Egyptian kings, without disabling their nation to perform any service to the Romans; forasmuch as the Achæans could without trouble raise thirty or forty thousand soldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another, and finally broken by the violence of Callicrates. For when it was thought

that the decree should have passed, he brought into the theatre, where the assembly was held, a messenger with letters from Martius, whereby the Achæans were desired to conform themselves to the Roman senate, and to labour, as the senate had done, by sending ambassadors, to set Egypt in peace. This was an advice against all reason: for the senate had indeed sent ambassadors to make peace, but, as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the Achæans should do any good in the same kind; yet Polybius and his friends durst not gainsay the Roman council, which had force of an injunction. So the kings were left in much distress, disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was Perseus overcome, and then might the ambassador sent from the Roman senate perform as much as any army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the senate unto those ambassadors of Physcon and Cleopatra, which having stayed more than a whole year in the city, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The ambassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them, though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) Philometor no less than his brother and sister.

In this embassage of Ptolomy, now requesting help from Rome, appeared a notable change of his fortune from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the Macedonian war, either he, or [x] Eulæus, and Lenæus, (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid,) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon Antiochus for Cœlesyria, but would have interposed himself between the Romans and Perseus, as a competent arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his ambassador was, by a friend, persuaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same

[x] Polyb. Legat. 72.

Antiochus. And now, at such time as by atonement with his brother and subjects he might have seemed to stand in no need of such protection, he hath remaining none other help, whereby to save both his kingdom and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother, and sister, shewed itself even in the habit of those ambassadors. They were poorly clad, the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction, and they carried in their hands branches of olive. Thus they entered into the senate, and there fell grovelling and prostrate upon the floor. Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their king and country stood, they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their estate, and of their princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the Romans. They said that the people of Rome had so much heretofore favoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of such account and authority with all other kings and nations, as if they pleased but to send their ambassadors, and let Antiochus know that the senate was offended with his undertaking upon the king their confederate, then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandria, and withdraw his army out of Egypt into Syria. But that if the senate protracted any time, or used any delay, then should Ptolomy and Cleopatra be shortly driven out of their realms, and make repair to Rome, with shameful dishonour to the senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The lords of the senate, moved with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as ambassadors, to determine and end the war between those kings. In commission they had first to find king Ptolomy, and then Antiochus, and to let them both understand, that unless they surceased, and gave over arms,

they would take that king no more for a friend to the senate and people of Rome, whom they found obstinate or using delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine ambassadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three days after.

Whilst Popilius and his fellows were on their way toward Egypt, Antiochus had transported his army over Lusine, some forty miles from Alexandria: so near was he to the end of his journey when the Roman ambassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, Antiochus offered his right hand to Popilius, but Popilius filled it with a roll of paper, willing him to read those mandates of the senate, before he did any thing else. Antiochus did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told Popilius, that he would advise with his friends, and then give the ambassadors their answer. But Popilius, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a circle about the king with a rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the senate, before he moved out of that circle. The king, astonished at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had stayed and paused a while, "I will be content," quoth he, "to do whatsoever the "senate shall ordain." Then Popilius gave unto the king his hand, as to a friend and ally of the Romans.

Thus Antiochus departed out of Egypt, without any good issue of his costly expedition, even in such manner as [y] Daniel had prophesied long before; yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning and of doing mischief to Jerusalem after his return, like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the prophet. As for the Roman ambassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the kingdom of Egypt, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to reign over Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus, which they left, as it had been, in the power of the Egyptian, having first

[y] Dan. xi. 29, 30, &c.

sent away Antiochus's fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the Egyptian ships.

SECT. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masinissa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of kingly estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the conclusion of the work.

BY this peremptory demeanour of Popilius, in doing his message, and by the ready obedience of king Antiochus to the will of the senate, we may perceive how terrible the Romans were grown, through their conquest of Macedon. The same Popilius had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the Achæans and Ætolians, when he went ambassador to those people of Greece that were of far less power than the king Antiochus. Likewise, Antiochus had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other ambassadors, which came from Rome, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other kings as well as Antiochus.

Eumenes sent to Rome his brother Attalus, to gratulate the victory over Perseus, and to crave help or countenance of the senate against the Gallo-Greeks, which molested him. Very welcome was Attalus, and lovingly entertained by most of the senators, who bade him be confident, and request of the senate his brother's kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled Attalus with such ambition, that he either approved or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of Stratius, a physician, whom Eumenes had sent to Rome of purpose to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the Romans in the late

war, [a] wherewithal he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could; and finally requested, that the towns of Ænus and Maronea might be bestowed upon himself. [b] By his omitting to sue for his brother's kingdom, the senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire, but in the presents which they gave to him (as was their custom to ambassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. [c] Nevertheless, Attalus took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the senate, that whilst he was yet in Italy, they gave order for the liberty of Ænus and Maronea; thereby making uneffectual their promise, which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the Gallo-Greeks, which were about to invade the kingdom of Pergamus, they sent ambassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the senate being so manifest, Eumenes thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither for this necessity of the third, since, by his malice to Perseus, he had laid open unto these ambitious potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into Italy, than the senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love; neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy; and to entertain him as a friend was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit: wherefore they made a decree, that no king should be suffered to come to Rome; and by virtue thereof sent him home, without expense of much further compliment.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had been at Rome somewhat before, where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud Romans

[a] Liv. lib. 45. [b] Polyb. Legat. 93. [c] Polyb. ibid.

could expect or desire. For entering into the senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the fathers his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumised, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of Rome. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith Perseus had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of compliment, to commend unto the senate the care of his son Nicomedes, whom he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made to have some towns added to his kingdom, whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the wardship of his son, it was undertaken by the senate, which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Egypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider what effectual protection the Romans gave unto the children of kings that were to their patronage commended.

But, above all other kings, Masinissa held his credit with the Romans good. His quarrels were endless with the Carthaginians, which made the friendship of the Romans to him the more assured. In all controversies they gave judgment on his side; and whereas he had invaded the country of Emporia, holding the lands, but unable to win the towns, the Romans (though at first they could find no pretext whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred talents to the Numidian, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had Rome good leisure to devise upon the ruin of Carthage; after which, the race of Masinissa himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old king never dreamed: he sent to Rome one of his sons to congratulate the victory over Perseus, and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto Jupiter in the Capitol. His good-will was lovingly accepted, his son rewarded, and he entreated to stay at home.

Cotys the Thracian sent ambassadors to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to Perseus, for that the Macedonian had him bound by hostages, and to entreat, that his son, which was taken with the children of Perseus, might be set at liberty for convenient ransom. His excuse was not taken, since he had voluntarily obliged himself to Perseus, by giving hostages without necessity; yet was his son given back to him ransom free, with admonition to carry himself better toward the Romans in time following. His kingdom lay between Macedon and some barbarous nations; in which respect it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy kings Perseus and Gentius, they were led through Rome, with their children and friends, in the triumphs of Æmilius and Anicius. Perseus had often made suit to Æmilius that he might not be put to such disgrace; but he still received one scornful answer, that it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in Macedon, than have been beholding to the courtesy of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman clemency, whereof Æmilius had given him hope, was no better than this: after that he and his fellow king had been led in chains through the streets, before the chariots of their triumphing victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the triumpher turned his chariot up towards the Capitol, there to do sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death; so as the honour of the vanquisher and misery of those that were overcome might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto Perseus, yet so, that he had little joy of his life, but either famished himself, or (for it is diversely reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody, and so died for want of sleep. Of his sons, two died, it is uncertain how. The youngest, called Alexander, (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes

perhaps by his father unto the fortunes of the Great) became a joiner, or turner, or, at his best preferment, a scribe under the Roman officers. In such poverty ended the royal house of Macedon; and it ended on the sudden, though some eightscore years after the death of that monarch unto whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

If Perseus had known it before, that his own son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handywork, in a painful occupation, it is like that he would not, as in a wantonness of sovereignty, have commanded those poor men to be slain which had recovered his treasures out of the sea by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertrodden wretches, are all subject unto one high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappiness, instead of that blessed counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity, we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most High*, that is, I will do what shall please myself. One hath said truly,

> [d] —— *Et qui nolunt occidere quemquam*
> *Posse volunt* ——
> Even they that have no murd'rous will,
> Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without control, which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few; among whom, also, very few there are that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not, that a prince, by racking his sovereign authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own sons or nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the wife, the minion, or perhaps the harlot, that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole

[d] Juvenal. Sat. X.

house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many princes, which could not humble themselves to such flattery, and the common practice of the Turkish emperors, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend, are too good proofs hereof. Hereto may be added, that the heir of the same Roger Mortimer who murdered most traitorously and barbarously king Edward the Second, was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heir apparent to the crown of England; which had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the line of that unhappy king. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject, as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of kingdoms not to authorize by wicked precedents the evil that may fall on their own posterity; so do they necessarily make us understand how happy that country is which hath obtained a king able to conceive and teach, that "[e] God is the "sorest and sharpest schoolmaster that can be devised for "such kings as think this world ordained for them, without "controlment to turn it upside down at their pleasure."

Now concerning the triumph of L. Æmilius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of [f] T. Quintius Flaminius, though far more glorious in regard of the king's own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils, and in regard likewise both of the conquest and of the booty. So great was the quantity of gold and silver carried by Paulus into the Roman treasury, that from thenceforth, until the civil wars, which followed upon the death of Julius Cæsar, the estate had no need to burden itself with any tribute. Yet was this noble triumph likely to have been hindered by the soldiers, who grudged at their general for not having dealt more bountifully with them: but the princes of the senate overruled the people and soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victory as men could give: nevertheless it pleased God to take away from him his two

[e] The true Law of free Monarchies. [f] Chap. 3. §. 4.

remaining sons, that were not given in adoption, of which the one died five days before the triumph, the other three days after it. This loss he bore wisely, and told the people, that he hoped to see the commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity, since the joy of his victory was requited with his own private calamity, instead of the public.

About the same time Octavius the admiral, who had brought Perseus out of Samothrace, and Anicius the pretor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken king Gentius prisoner, made their several triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of embassages from all parts, and kings, either visiting the imperial city, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person, were enough to say unto Rome, *Sume superbiam*; "Take upon thee the majesty that thy deserts have pur-"chased."

BY this which we have already set down is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world, whereof the founders and erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world: but after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another, her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great kings and conquering nations have been the subject of those ancient histories which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withal of so many tragical poets, as in the persons of powerful princes and other mighty men have complained against infidelity, time, destiny, and most of all against the variable success of worldly things, and instability of fortune. To these un-

dertakings the greatest lords of the world have been stirred up rather by the desire of fame, which plougheth up the air, and soweth in the wind, than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of Cineas to Pyrrhus proves. And certainly, as fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all, because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse understood by them which are dissolved, they themselves would then rather have wished to have stolen out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world by rapine, oppression, and cruelty; by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the cities of the world of their ancient inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Since the fall of the Roman empire (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no state fearful in the east, but that of the Turk; nor in the west any prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the Spaniard; who, since the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moors out of Granado, have made many attempts to make themselves masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in Europe, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out

the Christian religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to join all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spain.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said, that the kings and princes of the world have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends, of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of Death upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word, which God, with all the words of his law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred: *I have considered*, saith Solomon, *all the works that are under the sun, and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit;* but who believes it, till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoin his son Philip to restore Navarre; and king Francis the First of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant, makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepast happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only

hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet!*

Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself *The First Part of the General History of the World*, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with Job, *Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*

THE END.

TO

THE READER.

THE use of chronological tables is needful to all histories that reach to any length of time, and most of all to those that are most general, since they cannot, like annals, yearly set down all occurrences not coherent: this here following may serve as an Index to the present part of this work, pointing unto the several matters that, having fallen out at one time, are far disjoined in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect; neither do I think that any can be: for howsoever the years of the first patriarchs may seem to have been well near complete, yet in the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel we find many fractions, and the last year or years of one king reckoned also as the foremost of another: the same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry nations, causing the [a] summer months, in process of some ages, to fall into the winter, and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to choose out of so many and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for

[a] See lib. 2. c. 3. §. 6.

truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alleged in excuse of such error as a more intentive and perfect calculator shall happen to find herein: it may serve to free the book, and likewise the reader, (if but of mean judgment,) from any notorious anachronism, which ought to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard, not only for some errors of the press in the numbering of years, but for some hasty misreckonings of mine own, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

The titles over the columns have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles or more are over the head, as | Rome / Nabonassar | there do the numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: the walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319th year from the building of Rome, and in the 314th from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, that Jehoshaphat began his reign in the 3774th of the Julian era, in the 3092d of the world, and in the 99th year of the temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those years which I find not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some patriarch, the beginning of some king's reign, some change of government, some battle fought, or the like. So, of the thirteen years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latins, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the fourth of Jehoshaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the seventeenth, wherein Sylvius Aven-

tinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehoshaphat his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a page with twelve lines of idle ciphers, numbering forth 2, 3, 4, 5, and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus and seventeenth of Jehoshaphat. In setting down the kings, there is noted over the head of every one what place he held in order of succession, as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, in rank, of those that reigned in his country, without notable interruption; before the name is the first year of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath are those years of his which were concurrent with the beginning of some other king, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers or more are found before one king's name, there is it to be understood, that the same year belonged, not only to the king then beginning, but unto some one or more of his foregoers; as the first year of Jehoram, king of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the twenty-second of his father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077th year of the world, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri, it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same year, which is reckoned the second of Elah, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the years of the Egyptian kings, are set down the years of those dynasties which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the day of the month upon which Nabonassar's year began; which how it varied from other years may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the era, or account of years, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabo-

nassar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the book itself; so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of *Olympiads* is set down first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it the year of that Olympiad; as that Cyrus began his reign in Persia, in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, and the first year thereof.

Now, for that the years of the world, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about midsummer, and some at other times, the better to express their several beginnings, some painful chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other, not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than useful, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the era of the Olympiads be twenty-four years elder than that of Rome, and twenty-nine than that of Nabonassar, yet the reign of some king may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suit with this difference. But hereof I take little regard; the more curious will easily find my meaning, the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example may explain all: Queen Elizabeth began her reign the 17th of November, in the year of our Lord 1558; she was crowned, held a parliament, brake it up, threw down images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first year; yet not all in that year 1558, but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of January or

with the 25th of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so as the difference is never of a whole year.

The Julian period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the years of the world, was devised by that honourable and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger; being accommodated to the Julian years now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980 years, which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15, that is, of the cycle of the moon, the cycle of the sun, and the years of an indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year; or, if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that cycle to be current. For example; in the 4498th of this period, when was fought the great battle of Cannæ, the prime or golden number was 14, the cycle of the sun 18, and consequently the Dominical letter F, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian period 4498 by 19 for the prime, by 28 for the cycle of the sun. This Julian period, after the present account, always exceeds the years of the world by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better character of a year than any other era, (as, *from the beginning of the world, from the flood, from Troy taken*, or the like,) which are of more uncertain position.

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables; neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

YEARS OF THE JULIAN PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

	Julian. The World, and Adam.														
	683 1. Adam. 930														
	813 131	1. Seth. 912													
	918 236	106	1. Enos. 905												
	1008 326	196	91	1. Cainan. 910	All the years of the patriarchs, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned complete; which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children unto those that followed, making always a complete sum. Genesis v.										
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. Mahalaleel 895										

	461	331	220	130	60	red. 962									
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. Enoch. 365								
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. Methuselah. 969							
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. Lamech. 777						
Adam died about the end of this year.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56						
Enoch translated.	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113						
Seth died about the end of this year.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. Noah. 950					
Enos died.	1822 1140		905	815	745	680		453	266	84					
Cainan died.	1917 1235			910	842	775		548	361	179					

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. The World.			Maha-laleel.	Jared.	Methu-selah.	La-mech.	Noah.						
Mahalaleel died this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234						
Jared died.	2104 1422					735	584	366						
Flood threatened, Genesis vi. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481						
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600					
Lamech died.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93					
Methuselah died this year a little before the flood. Noah entereth into the ark. C. 7. §. 8, 9. The flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98					
The flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the ark.	2339 1657							601	99					
	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Ar-phaxad 438										
	2341 1659	603	101											

	1094 37	630	130	30	Jan. 433									
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. Heber. 464								
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. Peleg.		Kings of Assyria.					
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Reu. 239	1. Nimrod. 114					
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sarug. 230	Kings of Egypt.			
Vid. lib. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 1. Cham. 161			
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Nahor. 148		
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. Terah. 205	
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. Belus 65	83	55	53	24	

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon.	
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Ægyaleus, 52.	
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52.	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Europs 45.	
The last year of Peleg's life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16th dynasty in Egypt. Vid. l. 2. c. 2. §. 3, 4, 5, &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Osiris. 261		131	22	1 Abram. 175

	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semi-ramis42.	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telchin or Selchin. 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41
	Julian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.		Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.			Egypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.			Abram.
	2735 2053 396	495	395		360	330	35			45	175	4 1. Apis, 25.			45
	2743 2061 404	503	403		368	338	5 1. Ninias, 38.			53	183	9			53
	2760 2078 421	520	420		385	355	18			70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasion. 52.			70
Abram receives the promise. Terah dies in Haran. l. 2. c. 1. §. 1, 2, 3, &c.	2765 2083 426	525	425		390	360	23			75	205	6			75

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
Abram enters into Canaan; and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430 years of servitude.	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7	
Abram returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8	
Abram's victory over Chedorlaomer, and other kings, l. 2. c. 1. §. 8, 9, &c.	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16	
Ismael born.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18	
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19	
	2781 2099 16	541		406	376	91	6 1.Arius 30	91	22	
Isaac born when Abraham was 100 years old complete, 101 current.	2791 2109 26	551		416	386	101	11	101	32	1.Isaac. 180

The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568		433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571			406	121	7 1. Arabius,40.	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572			407	122	2	122	6 1. Ægyrus, 34.	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587			422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife when he was 40 years old complete.	2831 2149 66	591			426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600			435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian. World. Promise.	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thurimachus,45.		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1.Jacob 147	8 1. Baleus, 30	161	6	1 1. Inachus, 50.	

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Promise.	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17th dynasty, called of the shepherds, beginning this year, lasted 103 years.	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Armamithres 38.	191 1	36	31	
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1. Leucippus, 53.	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phoroneus 60.	
The flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See l. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. Belochus Priscus, 31.	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. Joseph. 110

	2202 179			154	94	20	64	1. Mneva-pius, 47.	44	3
See l. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3 and 4. 1. Typhon, and after him Hercul. 7. 72.	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Baleus, 52	3 74	11	54	13
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. Orus. 79. 115.	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The 18th dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348 years.	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Pera-tus, 46.	31	50

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Promise.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	Joseph.			
	2996 2314 231	146	43	38 13.	6	4 1. Argus. 70	55			
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232	147	44	39 14	7	2	56			
	Julian. World. Promise.	Joseph.	Assyria.		Egypt.		Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades, 32.		48 23		16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54		11 1. Plemnæus, 48.	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus, 30.		80 55		2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14		93 68		15	56		

	2384 301		29	105 83	30	1. Pirasus, or Criasus, 54.		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancaleus, 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. Sesostris the Great, 33. 91	38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. Ortho-polis, 63.	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20.	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1. Sesostris the second, 14. 124	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses. 120	19	10 133	32	51		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilas, or Mamelus, 30.	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. Phor-bas, 35.		

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Promise.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. Orus 2. or Busiris, 38. 138.	37	2	Athenians.	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1 Sparetus, 40.	28 165	13 1. Marathius, 30.	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Cecrops, 50.	
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites; kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Triopas, 46.	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. Thermutis, or Acencheres. Qu. 12. 176	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris, or Achoris, 9. 188.	24	17	21	
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. Marathus, 20.	24	28	

	2498 415	65	33	1. Chencres, 16. 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. Ascatades, 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses' wonders in Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Julian. World. Exodus.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
The passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to building the temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. Acherres, 8. 213	19	42	46	
The flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1. Echireus, 55.	44	48	
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. Crotopus, 21.	2 1. Cranaus, 10.	
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. Cherres, 15. 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1. Amphitryon, 12.	

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. Armeus, or Danaus, 5. 236.	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1.Sthenelus, 11.	12	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1Erictho-nius, 50.	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. Ramesses, 68. 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1.Amyntas 45.	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. Dardanus, 64.
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50.	11	5

The last year of Moses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	Troy.
The Israelites enter the land of promise.	3236 2554 41	1 1.Joshua, 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax, 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1. Otho- niel, 40.	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belochus the second. 25.	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pan- dion, 40.	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epo- peus, 35.	11 1. Lyn- ceus, 41.	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis, 40. 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1Erictho- nius, 46.

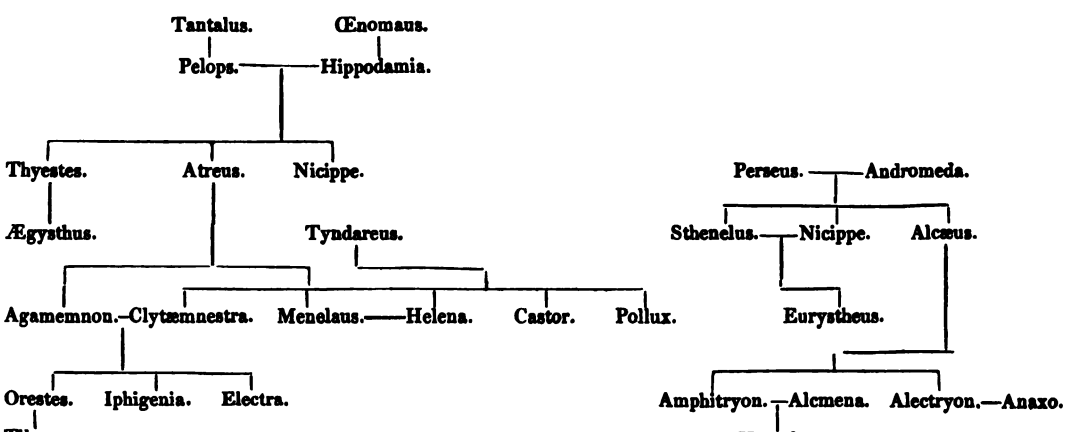
A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	Troy.
	3294 2612 99	3 1. Ehud. 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1 Belopares 30.	7 315	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Erec-theus, 50.	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lame-don, 40.	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abas. 23	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides, 32.	37 345	11	5	16	36
The 19th dynasty: of the Larthes, 194 years. See l. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. Zethus, or Se-thosis, 55. 1.	15	9	20	40

	2057 144	40	12	8	22	10	27	1. Thos. 60
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Prœtus 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sosares, 20.	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cecrops the 2. 40.	25
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Acrisius, 31	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sons of Hellen. See l. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1. Debora & Ba. 40.	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares, 30.	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramses, 66. 56	30	24	25	49

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	Troy.
After the death of Acrisius, the kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycenæ, whereof some kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the pedigree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. Ilus, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Euristheus, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Polybus, 40.	2	8 1. Pandion the 2. 25.	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias, 45.	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gedeon, 40.	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his kingdom, which is recovered by his son Ægeus in few years after. The omission of this interregnum, and reckoning the years in the forty-eighth of Ægeus, or the numbering them apart by themselves, breed answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following; as of Mnestheus, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Ægeus, 48	34
Œdipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Inachus, 42.	42	12	45

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Atreus and Thyestes, 65.	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis, 40. 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abimelech, 3.	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon, 36.
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sosarmus, 19.	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Thola, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 279	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27.	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. Jair, 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. Theseus, 30.	27

	290			154	stus, 8.			
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. Priamus, 40.
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Annemenes 26. 162	23 1. Adrastus, 4.	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Polyphides, 31.	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tautanes, 32.	9 170	5	55	22	12
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Jephthah, 6.	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ibzan, 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mnestheus 24.	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Agamemnon, 18	3	23

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon, 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The war at Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Thuoris, 7. 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Abdon, 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20th dynasty, called of the Diapolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178 years. See l. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynasty, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelasgus, 20.	17	19	39
Troy taken 408 years before the beginning of the Olympiads. See l. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy

	Exodus.	taken.							Latins.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Ægysthus, 6.	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20.	29 1. Teuteus, 40.	8	6	4	24	1 1. Æneas, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demophon, 33.	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Orestes, 70.	3	2 1. Ascanius, 38.
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zeusippus, 32.	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	24	14 1. Eli, 40.	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxyntes, 12.	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thyneus, 30.	48	26	38	7	38

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	The Kingdom of the Latins.
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Posthumus, 29.
The Sicyonian kings ended in Zeusippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphidas, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Timœtes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melanthus, 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. Samuel, and after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dercilus, 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tisamenus, 3.	19	4

dom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene: the kings whereof I forbear to insert into this table.	414								
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1.Codrus, 21	23
	Julian. World. Exodus.		From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1.Syl.Latinus, 50.	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1.Eupales, 38.	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian kings, after the death of Codrus. See l. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20.	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agastus, 36.	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See l. 2. c. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1.Salomon,40.	31	148	8	40	

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Temple.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	
Salomon began to build the temple 480 years complete after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. Laosthenes 45.	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba, 39.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac. 26. 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1. Archippus, 19.	19	
The 21st dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130 years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionic migration after the taking of Troy 180 years. See l. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.
	3713 3031 38	184	1 1. Rehoboam. 17.	1 1. Jeroboam. 22.	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Chemmis, 50. 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. Tersippus, 41.	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. Syl. Atys, 26.
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades. 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam. 3.	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa. 41.	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. Nadab, 2.	9	17 31	14	12

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24.	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Syl. Capys, 28.
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophrateus, 20.	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of these Israelitish kings, see l. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 { 1 { 5. Zimri. 6. Tibni. 7. Omri. 12. } }	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	5 1. Phorbas, 31.	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56. 65	7	20

	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehoshaphat 25.	5	19	7 71	13	26
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. Ophratanes, 50.	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus, 13.
Of Jehoram's sundry beginnings to reign, see l. 2. c. 20. §. 1, 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram.	21 9 1. Ahazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tiberinus 8.
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1. Jehoram, 12.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezades, 30.	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram again, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Jehoshaphat dies, and Jehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa, 41.

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	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Ahazia, 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia, 7.	11 1. Jehu, 28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. Joas, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built, lib. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1. Diognetus, 28.	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1. Cephrenes, 50. 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocrazapes, or 1. Anacyndaraxes, 42.	3 123	4	29

	3149 156	302	23	1. Jehoahaz, 17.	6	128	9	34
The end of the 21st dynasty. The dynasties following I omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. Alladius, 19.
Joash reigned with his father, lib. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joash.	20	22	23	7
Joash reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Joash, 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 29.	2	23	25	26	10
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Pheredus, 19.	13
	3858 3176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. Syl. Aventinus, 37.
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. Jeroboam, 41.	37	39	12	5

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. Sardanapalus, 20.	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ariphron, 20.	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Mycerinus, 6.	5	16	
	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	Media.
L. 2. c. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11 years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Bocchorus, 44.	11	22	
L. 2. c. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sardanapalus slain.	8	18	29	

L. 2. c. 33. §. 1. 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzia, or Azaria, 52.	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arbaces, 28.
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. Thesporus 27.	32	3
L. 2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1. Belosus, or Phul. 48.	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas, 23	8
L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23 years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sosarmus, 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. Agamnestor, 20.	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Syl. Amulius, 44.	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Asychis, and after him Anysis, 6.	8	7	9

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.			Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	Media.
Zachariah began at the very end of the year. L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396			38	25 15. Zachariah 6 months.	34	2	9	8	10
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum one month. 17 Menahem, 10.	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Sabacus the Ethiopian, 50.	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	50	18 1. Pekahia, 2.	46	8	12 1. Æschylus, 23.	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1. Peka Romeliæ, 20.	48	10	3	22	24

L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 Jotham, 16.	2	8 1. Tiglath Phul Assar, 27.	11	4	23	25
	Julian. World. Temple.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	Media.	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1. Medidus, 40.	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1. Ahaz, 16.	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. Interregnum 7 years.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1. Alcmenon, 2.	43	15	
	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Romans.	Media.
Rome built, l. 2. c. 24. §. 5. Carops the First governing in Athens for ten years; after whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for the like time; and thence the office became annual.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. Carops, 10.	1 1. Romulus, 37.	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1. Hosea, 9.	27	37	5	5	21

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitns.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Romans.	Media.
The era of Nabonassar. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1. Salmanassar, or Nabonassar, 10.	38	6	6	22
Ezekias began in the very end of this year. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekias 29.	3	2	39	7	7	23
This year concurs with the first of Ezekias. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8 3	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian war: whereof see l. 2. c. 27. §. 4. It lasted twenty years.	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27
The captivity of the ten tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Sennacherib, 7.	47		15	31

L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chaldæans.	5	1. Sethon, 33.		19	35
Sennacherib's army destroyed, and he slain. L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus.	5 1. Asarhaddon, 10.	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1. Cardiceas, 13.
Merodach gets the whole empire. This year, or in the end of the year foregoing, an eclipse of the moon.	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 40.	11	14		32	8
	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	
Two eclipses of the moon in the second year of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38.	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. Manasses 55.	6	19	37	13	2	

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Interregnum 1 year.	5 1. Deioces, 53.	3
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1. Numa Pompilius, 43.	2	4
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1. Interregnum, 2.	14	15	17
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12. Princes, 15.	16	17	19
The beginning of the second Messenian war, which lasted about 18 years. L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. Psammiticus, 44.	30	31	33
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Ben Merodach, 21.	5	34	35	37
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Ardys, 49.

	3361 368	77	106	2	46	11	15	1. Tullus Hostilius, 32.	45	9
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1. Phraortes, 24.	18
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2.	21	25	11	2	19
The expedition of the Scythians, l. 2. c. 28. §. 3, 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabulassar, 35.	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Josias, 31.	2	27	13	4	21
L. 2. c. 28. §. 2.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Neco, 17.	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus Martius 24.	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1. Cyaxares, 40.	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sadyattes, 12.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
L. 2. c. 28. §. 1, 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	31 17 Jehoahaz 3 months.	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year with his father, which is to be regarded in astronomical observations concerning his time. L. 2. c. 28. §. 6. and c. 25. §. 1.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. Jehoiakim, 11.	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4 1. Nabuchodonosor the Great, 44.	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. Psammis, 12.	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1. Jechonia 3 months. 20 Zedekiah 11 years.	8	7	22	21	4 1. Halyattes, 57.
Zedekiah's journey to Babylon. L. 2. c. 28. §. 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	4	11	10	5 1. L. Tarquinius Priscus, 38.	24	4
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1. Aprie, or Hophra, 10.	4	27	7

Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with whose 18 for the more part, and partly with whose 19, this year concurs.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Captivity.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L. 3. c. 1. §. 8, 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	10 1. Pharaoh Hophra slain, and the kingdom of Egypt governed 40 years by viceroys.	13	36	16
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1. Astyages, 35.	21
Nabuchodonosor lives wild, and his kingdom is governed by others for him during seven years. L. 3. c. 1. §. 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. Evilmerodach, 2.	15	27	10	30
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	39 1. Niglisar and Nitocris, 4.	17	29	12	32
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131 3449	170 165	194	49 2	25	43 1. Laborosardach 9 months.	21	33	16	36

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	
L. 3. c. 1. §. 6. The 37th of Jechonia's captivity complete, and he enlarged.	4133 3451	172 167	196	49 4	27	5 1. Evilmerodach, 26.	23	35	18	38	
	4137 3455	176 171	200	50 4	31	5	27	6 1. Servius Tullus 44.	22	42	
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past Amasis began his reign, this being inclusively the 41st; and therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis's first.	4151 3469	190 185	214	54 2	45	19	Amasis, 34.	15	9 1. Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, 26.	56	
	4153 3471	192 187	216	54 4	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœsus, 14.	
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	Jews.
	4154 3472	193 188	217	55 1	1 1. Cyrus in Persia, 23.	22	3	18	4	2	48
The seven sages in Greece.	4159 3477	198 193	222	56 2	6	6 1. Baltasar, 17.	8	23	9	7	53

Pisistratus makes himself tyrant in Athens.	4164 3482	203 198	227	57 3	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	4166 3484	205 200	229	58 1	13	8	15	30	16	14 Cræsus taken by Cyrus.	60
The end of the Chaldæan empire.	4175 3493	214 209	238	60 2	22	17. Balthasar slain.	24	39	25		69
	4176 3494	215 210	239	60 3	23	1. Darius the Mede, 2.	25	40	26		70
The beginning of Cyrus's empire. His edict of liberty to the Jews.	4177 3495	216 211	240	60 4	1. Cyrus, 7	2	26	41	Years from 1 Cyrus.		Zorobabel.
	4181 3499	220 215	244	61 4	5		30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus, 25.	5	* Only Zorobabel and Nehemiah are remembered as governors of the Jews unto the 32d of Artaxerxes Mnemon. But there were many before Nehemiah, as himself witnesseth, ch. v. 15. so that the stories of them, their number and names, are uncertain.	
	4184 3502	223 218	247	62 3	2 1. Cambyses, 7.		33	4	8		
The two first years of Psammenitus, and part of the third, may be added to the years of his father; if it be true that Cambyses won Egypt presently upon the death of Amasis. L. 3. c. 4. §. 2.	4186 3504	225 220	249	63 1	3		1. Psammenitus, 3.	6	10		
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188 3506	227 222	251	63 3	5		3	8	12		

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; and from Cyrus.
Cambyses reigned 7 years and 5 months, so as this his last year was filled up by the magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next. L. 3. c. 4. §. 4.	4191 3509	230 225	254	64 2	8 The magi one year.		11		15
	4192 3510	231 226	255	64 3	3 1. Darius Hystaspis, 36.		12		16
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant in Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	13 Babylon, which had rebelled, taken by Darius.		24		28
The Tarquins expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29
The Carthaginians' first league with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. §. 2.	4206 3524	245 240	269	68 1	15		Brutus and Publicola consuls.		30
L. 3. c. 5. §. 4.	4211 3529	250 245	274	69 2	20. Darius's expedition against the Scythians.				35

	4212 3530	251 246	275	69 3	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	4222 3540	261 256	285	72 1	31		Sp. Cassius, Posth. Cominius, consuls.	The battle of Marathon.	46
	4226 3544	265 260	289	73 1	35	Egypt rebelleth against Darius.			50
	4228 3546	267 262	291	73 3	4 1. Xerxes, 21.				52
The law Agraria in Rome propounded for division of lands; which bred great commotion.	4229 3547	268 263	292	73 4	2	Egypt recovered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius, Sp. Cassius, consuls.		53
An eclipse of the sun. L. 3. c. 6. §. 2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	6. The great muster of Xerxes' army at Sardes.				57
L. 3. c. 6. §. 3, 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	7			The battles at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis.	58
L. 3. c. 6. §. 9, 10, 11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	8. Xerxes' tragical love.			The battle of Plateæ and Mycale.	59
L. 3. c. 7. §. 1, 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	10			The Athenians rebuild their walls, and lay the foundation of their dominion.	61

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; and from Cyrus.
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	17			The great victories of Cimon at Eurymedon and elsewhere.	68
L. 3. c. 7. §. 3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21 The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.				72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus, 40.			Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxerxes.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	79 2	3	Inarus set up as king by the Egyptians.			75
L. 3. c. 7. §. 5, 7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7. The marriage of Hester.	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.			79 Esdras comes to Jerusalem. 1. Daniel's 70 weeks, or 490 years begin.
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16		The decemviri chosen to compound a body of the Roman laws.	Hippocrates the great physician and Democritus the philosopher flourish.	88 10

The account from the solution of the captivity is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; or from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265 3583	304 299	328	82 4	17		The decemviri, chosen for a second year, tyrannise and usurp the place a third year.	Cimon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89 11
Nehemiah comes to Jerusalem.	4268 3586	307 302	331	83 3	20		Tribuni militum first chosen instead of consuls. Dionysius. Livy placeth them in the 110th year of Rome.	A league for 30 years between Athens and Sparta.	92 14
	4272 3590	311 306	335	84 3	24				96 18
	4273 3591	312 307	336	84 4	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.	97 19
	4278 3596	317 312	341	86 1	30			The Athenians and the Corcyreans against the Corinthians.	102 24
The walls of Jerusalem finished. Nehemiah returns to king Artaxerxes.	4280 3598	319 314	343	86 3	32				104 26
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283 3601	322 317	346	87 2	35			The first year of the Peloponnesian war.	107 29
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. L. 3. c. 8. §. 4.	4289 3607	328 323	352	88 4	6 Xerxes 2 months. 7 Sogdianus 8 months.			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113 35

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; or from Cyrus and Daniel.
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290 3608	329 324	353	89 1	8 1. Darius Nothus, 19				114 36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5, 6.	4292 3610	331 326	355	89 3	3			A vain and troublesome peace between Athens and Sparta.	116 38
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. and c. 8. §. 8.	4301 3619	340 335	364	91 4	12. Egypt rebelleth against the Persians, and sets up kings that reign successively till Ochus's reconquest.	1 1. Amyrtæus, 6.		The Athenian forces in Sicily utterly destroyed.	125 47
C. 8. §. 9.	4302 3620	341 336	365	92 1	13. Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400 in Athens, which was suppressed the year following.	126 48
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an army of 300,000. L. 5. c. 1. sect. 4. §. 3.	4304 3622	343 338	367	92 3	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength.	128 50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306 3624	345 340	369	93 1	17	6		Alcibiades, after many victories, returns from banishment to Athens: is made general, and banished again.	130 52
	4307 3625	346 341	370	93 2	18	2 1. Nephres, 6.		The battle at Arginusæ.	131 53

	4300 3626	347 342	371	95 3	19	2		usurps tyranny in Syracuse.	-3- 54
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309 3627	348 343	372	93 4	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43.	3		The battle at Ægos Potamos, &c.	133 55
	4311 3629	350 345	374	94 2	3	5	The siege of Veii, which lasted 10 years.		135 57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313 3631	352 347	376	94 4	5. The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes.	3 1. Acoris, 12.		Socrates put to death. The thirty tyrants put down in Athens.	137 59
L. 3. c. 11. §. 4.	4318 3636	357 352	381	96 1	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142 64
L. 3. c. 11. §. 7.	4320 3638	359 354	383	96 3	12	8		The victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c.	144 66
	4321 3639	360 355	384	96 4	13	9	Veii taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145 67
	4325 3643	364 359	388	97 4	17	3 1. Psammitichus the son of Inarus, and after him Nephres, that had been expelled, reigned in all about two years.	The honourable victory of Camillus over the Falisci.		149 71
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1. L. 3. c. 11. §. 9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18	2	Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The peace of Antalcidas.	150 72

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; From Cyrus. Daniel.
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1. Nectanebus, 18.			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedæmonians take the citadel of Thebes by treason.	156 78
L. 3. c. 11. §. 11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		The Thebans recover their citadel, and make strong war upon the Lacedæmonians.	160 82
	4340 3658	379 374	403	101 3	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued five years in office, propound popular laws, among which, that one of the consuls should be still a plebeian.		164 86
L. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		The famous battle of Leuctra.	167 89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345 3663	384 379	408	102 4	37	4 1. Tachus, 8. Eusebius gives only two years to Tachus. Reinec. 6; but the story of him proves more.	L. Sextus a plebeian, and L. Æmilius, consuls.	The hasty growth of the Theban estate.	169 91
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43. Many provinces rebel against Artaxerxes, and are soon reclaimed.	7		The great battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas dies.	175 97

L. 3. c. 12. §. 8.	4352 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1. Ochus. 23.	8. Tachus betrayed by Agesilaus. 1. Nectanebus, 13.		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themselves by converting their treasure to vain uses.	176 Jonathan about this time 98 h.-priest.
	4354 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3		1. Philip king of Macedon 24 years, and part of the 25th.	178 100
L. 4. c. 1. §. 4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		6. The Phocian war begins.	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	13. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Ethiopia.		11	188 110
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15. The end of the Phocian war.	192 114
L. 5. c. 1. sect. 4. §. 4.	4369 3687	408 403	432	108 4	18			16. Timoleon's voyage into Sicily.	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	Nabonassar. November the 17.		17. Philip wasteth Illyria, and draws the Thessalians to follow him.	194 116
After this, the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too few by one.	4375 3693	414 409	438	110 2	11 1. Arses, 3.			22	199 Jaddus high- 121 priest, 16.
	4376 3694	415 410	439	110 3	2			23 The battle of Cheronæa. Philip chosen captain-general of the Greeks.	2 199 121

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews. From Cyrus. Daniel.
	4378 3696	417 412	441	111 1	12 1. Darius 6 years and somewhat more.	Nabon. November 15.		25 Philip slain by Pausanias. 1. Alexander the Great 12 years and 5 months.	4 201 123
	4379 3697	418 413	442	111 2	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202 124
	4380 3698	419 414	443	111 3	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6 203 125
L. 4. c. 2. §. 4.	4381 3699	420 415	444	111 4	4 The battle of Issus.			4	7 204 126
L. 4. c. 2. §. 5, 6, 7. and l. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4382 3700	421 416	445	112 1	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt.	8 205 127 Jaddus meeting Alexander is reverenced by him.
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.					
An eclipse of the moon.	4383 3701	422 417	446	112 2	6 The battle of Arbela.				6 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander. 9 206 128

	3702	416		3	by Bessus.					129
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.
	4385 3703	424 419	448	112 4	8. Alexander changeth conditions; he puts to death Parmenio and Philotas.					11 130
	4386 3704	425 420	449	113 1	9. Alexander passeth into India; kills Clytus and Callisthenes.					12 131
Alexander died 17 days before the summer solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424 years; and hence to the reign of Augustus 294. The sum is 718 years, which agrees with this account. Ptolom. Almagest. L. 3. c. 8.	4390 3708	429 424	453	114 1	13. Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. November 12.				16 135
	4391 3709	430 425	454	114 2	1. Aridæus, 6. and 4 months.	1 1. Ptolomy Lagi, 39.	L. 3. c. 3. §. 1, 2, 3.	The Lamian war.		1. Onias, 23. 136
	4394 3712	433 428	457	115 1	4	4. Perdiccas slain in Egypt. } Nab. Nov. 11.	L. 4. c. 3. §. 8, 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4 139
	4395 3713	434 429	458	115 2	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5 140
Aridæus slain by Olympias. Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397 3715	436 431	460	115 4	7	7				7 142

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphi-tus.	Olym-piads.	Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful.	4398 3716	437 432	461	116 1	1. Cassander, 19.	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.		8 143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this twelfth from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32 years.	4402 3720	441 436	465	117 1	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza by Ptolomy and Seleucus.			12 147
Peace between Alexander's captains; with division of provinces.	4403 3721	442 437	466	117 2	6	13				13 148
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphi-tus.	Olym-piads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.
The era of the kingdom of the Greeks.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 1.Seleucus, 30. 1.	L. 4. c. 5. §. 7.		14 149
Alexander's captains assume the name of kings.	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16 151
L. 4. c. 6. §. 4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10. The battle at Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain, 10.			23 158

	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius, 11.			1. Simon the ancient, 13. 159
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	1. Antipater and Alexander the sons of Cassander, 4.	27	14 14			4 162
L. 4. c. 6. §. 7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	1. Demetrius, 6.	31	18 18			8 166
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel.
	4427 3745	466 461	490	123 2	1. Pyrrhus 7 months.	37	24 24			1. Eleazar high-priest, 19. 172
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1. Lysimachus, 5.	38	25 25			2 173
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	39 2 1. Ptolomy Philadelphus, 38.	26 26			3 174
The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432 3750	471 466	495	124 3	5	4	29 29		The Tarentines raise war in the eastern part of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.	6 177
L. 4. c. 6. §. 9. and c. 7. §. 2.	4433 3751	472 467	496	124 4	6. Lysimachus slain. Seleucus 7 months.	5	30. Seleucus slain in the end of the 124th Olympiad. Polyb. and Justin. 30.		Pyrrhus's victory against the Romans.	7 178

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel.	Consuls.
L. 4. c. 7. §. 3. 7.	4434 3752	473 468	497	125 1	1. Ptolomy Ceraunus. Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes, 2.	6 Nabon. Nov. 1.	2 1. Antiochus Soter, 19. 31	The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus and Belgius.		8 179	
	4436 3754	475 470	499	125 3	1 1. Antigonus Gonatas, 36.	8	3 33		Pyrrhus goes into Sicily.	10 181	
L. 5. c. 2. §. 6.	4438 3756	477 472	501	126 1	3	10. Nabonassar's year begins the first of October.	5 35	About these times the Achæans begun their society.	Pyrrhus called out of Sicily against the Romans.	12 183	
	4439 3757	478 473	502	126 2	4	11	6 36		Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans.	13 184	
L. 4. c. 7. §. 5.	4441 3759	480 475	504	126 4	6	13	8 38	Pyrrhus slain at Argos.	The Tarentines crave aid of the Carthaginians.	15 186	
The translation by the Septuagint finished this 17th of Philadelphus.	4445 3763	484 479	508	127 4	10	17	12 42			19 190	
	4446 3764	485 480	509	128 1	11	18. Nabonassar, Oct. 29.	13 43			1. Manasses high-priest, 27. 191	

The more ancient Roman consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted whom to name.	4450 3768	489 484	513	129 1	15	22. Nabonassar, Oct. 28.	17 47	L. 5. c. 1. §. 3.	The beginning of the first Punic war.	5 195	Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.	
	4453 3771	492 487	516	129 4	18	25	3 1. Antiochus Theus, 16. 50			8 198	L. Valerius. T. Octacilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454 3772	493 488	517	130 1	19	26	2 51		Duilius's victory at sea.	9 199	C. Duilius. Cn. Cornelius.
	4457 3775	496 491	520	130 4	22	29	5 54		Regulus passeth into Afric.	12 202	M. Attil. Reg. Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	4458 3776	497 492	521	131 1	23	30	6 55	Marcus Carynensis pretor of the Acheans.	Regulus taken prisoner.	13 203	L. Manlius. Q. Cæditius.
	4463 3781	502 497	526	132 2	28	35	11 60	Aratus recovers Sicyon, and joins it to the Achæans		18 208	L. Cecilius. C. Furius.
The Roman consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian kingdom.	4464 3782	503 498	457	132 3	29	36	12 61		Regulus's death.	19 209	C. Atilius. L. Manlius.
	4465 3783	504 499	528	132 4	30	37	13 62		Shipwreck and unhappy fight of the Romans at sea.	20 210	P. Claudius, Pulcher, and L. Junius.

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.	Consuls.
	4467 3785	506 501	530	133 2	32	3 1. Ptolomy Euergetes, 26.	15 64			22 212	L. Cæcilius. M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469 3787	508 503	532	133 4	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus, 20. 66			24 214	M. Fabius. C. Atilius.
	4472 3790	511 506	535	134 3	2 1. Demetrius, 10.	6	4 69		Luctatius's great victory at Ægateis.	27 217	C. Luct. Catul. A.Posthumius.
The war of the mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473 3791	512 507	536	134 4	2	7	5 70	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias, 1. 218	Q. Luctatius. A. Manlius.
	4474 3792	513 508	537	135 1	3	8 Nabon. Oct. 22.	6 71			1. Simon the Just, 28. 219	C. Claudius. M. Sempronius.
The war with the mercenaries ended.	4476 3794	515 510	539	135 3	5	10	8 73		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3 221	Gracchus. Falco.
	4482 3800	521 516	545	137 1	3 1. Antigonus Doson, 12.	16	14 79			9 227	Lepidus. Malleolus.

	3801	517	540	2	2	17	80		bassador slain by queen Teuta.	228	M. Junius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485 3803	524 519	548	137 4	4	19	17 82		Teuta queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans.	12 230	L. Posthumius. C. Fulvius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489 3807	528 523	552	138 4	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus, 3. 86			16 234	L. Æmilius. C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also consul this year. See l. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492 3810	531 526	555	139 3	11	26	5 1. Antiochus the Great, 36. 89		Marcellus's victory over the Gauls about Milan.	19 237	C. Cornelius. M. Marcellus.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493 3811	532 527	556	139 4	12	4 1. Ptolomy Philopater, 27.	2 90			20 238	P. Cornelius. M. Minutius.
	4494 3812	533 528	557	140 1	4 1. Philip, 42.	2	3 91			21 239	L. Veturius. C. Luctatius.
Hannibal takes Saguntum.	4495 3813	534 529	558	140 2	2	3	4 92	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his lordship.		22 240	L. Æmilius. M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punic war.	4496 3814	535 530	559	140 3	3	4	5 93	L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.	The battles of Ticinus and Trebia.	23 241	P. Cor. Scipio. T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polybius, l. 5. to the 3rd of the 14th Olym-	4497 3815	536 531	560	140 4	4 Sun eclipsed. Liv. l. 22. Feb. 11. reckoning by Julian years.	5 War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptolomy.	6 94	Philip and the Achæans make peace with the Ætolians.	The battles of Thrasymene.	24 242	C. Flaminius. Cn. Servilius.

	3829	545	574	2			108		taken.	256	Servilius.
	4512 3830	551 546	575	144 3	19	3	21 109		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11 257	T. Claudius. M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three eclipses of the moon.	4513 3831	552 547	576	144 4	20	4	22 110		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12 258	L ntulus. Pætus.
	4516 3834	555 550	579	145 3	23. Philip overcome at the river Apsus by the Romans.	7	25 113		L. 5. c. 4. §. 13.	15 261	T. Q. Flaminius. Sex. Ælius.
L. 5. c. 4. §. 14.	4517 3835	556 551	580	145 4	The battle at Cynoscephalæ. 24	8	26 114			16 262	Cethegus. Q. Minutius.
Hannibal expelled Carthage. L. 5. c. 5. §. 4. and c. 4. §. 15.	4518 3836	557 552	581	146 1	25. Peace between Philip and the Romans.	9	27 115	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.		17 263	L. Furius. Marcellus.
C. 5. §. 5.	4519 3837	558 553	582	146 2	26	10	28 116	War upon Nabis the tyrant.		18 264	M. Cato. L. Valerius.
C. 5. §. 7.	4522 3840	561 556	585	147 1	29	13	31 Antiochus at Chalcis, 119.			21 267	L. Quintius. Cn. Domitius.
	4523 3841	562 557	586	147 2	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ, 120.			22 268	Acilius Glabrio. Nasica.

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	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel.	Consuls.
piad. This battle of Thrasymene was fought in the spring, the Olympian year began at the summer solstice.	4498 3816	537 532	561	141 1	5	6 Nabonassar's year begins October 16.	7 95		The great battle of Cannæ.	25 243	C. Teret. Varro. L. Æm. Paul.
Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero king of Syracuse dies. Hieronymus succeeds.	4499 3817	538 533	562	141 2	6	7	8 96		Posthumius the Roman consul slain by the Gauls.	26 244	L. Posthumius. T. Semp. Grac. Q. Fabius.
The two Scipios slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum.	4502 3820	541 536	565	142 1	9	10	11 99	Philip and the Achæans have war with the Ætolians and Romans in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged.	247 Ti. Onias h.-priest, 39.	Ap. Claudius. Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503 3821	542 537	566	142 2	10	11	12 100		Young Scipio sent into Spain. Capua won by the Romans.	2 248	Cn. Fulvius. P. Sulpicius.
	4507 3825	546 541	570	143 2	14	15	16 104		The battle at Metaurus.	6 252	C. Clau. Nero. M. Livius.
	4508 3826	547 542	571	143 3	15	16	17 105		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain.	7 253	Q. Cæcilius. L. Veturius.
	4510 3828	549 544	573	144 1	17	5 1. Ptolomy Epiphanes 24.	19 107		Scipio invades Afric.	9 255	Cethegus. P. Sempronius.

	3829	545		2			108		taken.	250	Servilius.
	4512 3830	551 546	575	144 3	19	3	21 109		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11 257	T. Claudius. M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three eclipses of the moon.	4513 3831	552 547	576	144 4	20	4	22 110		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12 258	L ntulus. Pætus.
	4516 3834	555 550	579	145 3	23. Philip overcome at the river Apsus by the Romans.	7	25 113		L. 5. c. 4. §. 13.	15 261	T. Q. Flaminius. Sex. Ælius.
L. 5. c. 4. §. 14.	4517 3835	556 551	580	145 4	The battle at Cynoscephalæ. 24	8	26 114			16 262	Cethegus. Q. Minutius.
Hannibal expelled Carthage. L. 5. c. 5. §. 4. and c. 4. §. 15.	4518 3836	557 552	581	146 1	25. Peace between Philip and the Romans.	9	27 115	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.		17 263	L. Furius. Marcellus.
C. 5. §. 5.	4519 3837	558 553	582	146 2	26	10	28 116	War upon Nabis the tyrant.		18 264	M. Cato. L. Valerius.
C. 5. §. 7.	4522 3840	561 556	585	147 1	29	13	31 Antiochus at Chalcis, 119.			21 267	L. Quintius. Cn. Domitius.
	4523 3841	562 557	586	147 2	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ, 120.			22 268	Acilius Glabrio. Nasica.

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piad. This battle of Thrasymene was fought in the spring, the Olympian year began at the summer solstice.	4498 3816	537 532	561	141 1	5	6 Nabonassar's year begins October 16.	7 95		The great battle of Cannæ.	25 243	C. Teret. Varro. L. Æm. Paul.
Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero king of Syracuse dies. Hieronymus succeeds.	4499 3817	538 533	562	141 2	6	7	8 96		Posthumius the Roman consul slain by the Gauls.	26 244	L.Posthumius. T.Semp. Grac. Q. Fabius.
The two Scipios slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum.	4502 3820	541 536	565	142 1	9	10	11 99	Philip and the Achæans have war with the Ætolians and Romans in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged.	247 I. Onias h.-priest, 39.	Ap. Claudius. Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503 3821	542 537	566	142 2	10	11	12 100		Young Scipio sent into Spain. Capua won by the Romans.	2 248	Cn. Fulvius. P. Sulpicius.
	4507 3825	546 541	570	143 2	14	15	16 104		The battle at Metaurus.	6 252	C. Clau. Nero. M. Livius.
	4508 3826	547 542	571	143 3	15	16	17 105		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain.	7 253	Q. Cæcilius. L. Veturius.
	4510	549		144		5 I. Ptolomy	19		Scipio invades	9	Cethegus.

	3849	548		2			108		March.	250	Servilius.
	4512 3830	551 546	575	144 3	19	3	21 109		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11 257	T. Claudius. M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three eclipses of the moon.	4513 3831	552 547	576	144 4	20	4	22 110		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12 258	L ntulus. Pætus.
	4516 3834	555 550	579	145 3	23. Philip overcome at the river Apsus by the Romans.	7	25 113		L. 5. c. 4. §. 13.	15 261	T. Q. Flaminius. Sex. Ælius.
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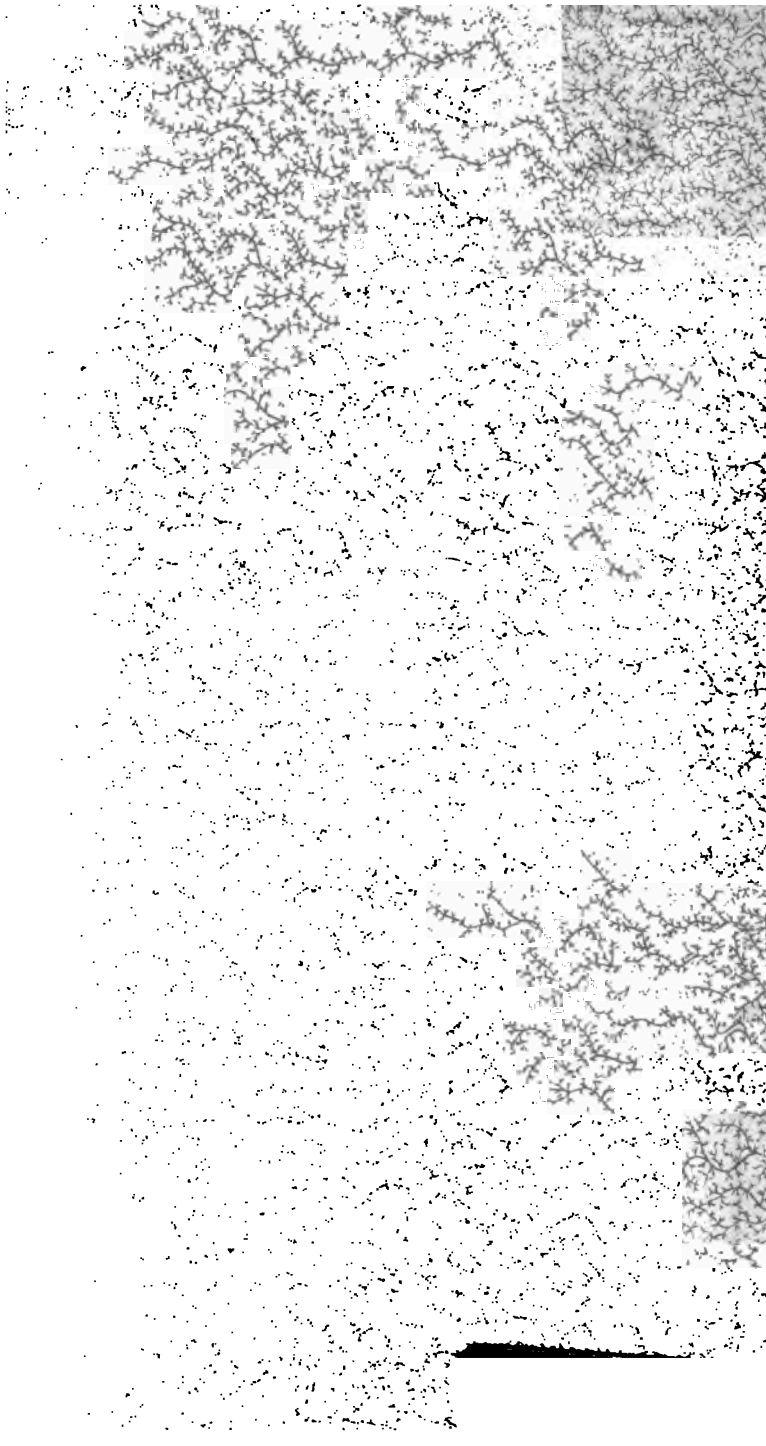
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